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EARLY TRAVELS IN INDIA

PRINTED IN ENGLAND
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BY FREDERICK HALL.



INDIA IN 1605



English Miles
Kilometers

Longitude East 90 from Greenwich

EARLY TRAVELS IN INDIA

1583—1619

EDITED BY
WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E.



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PREFACE

THE following pages contain the narratives of seven Englishmen who traveled in Northern and Western India during the reigns of the Emperors Akbar and Jahāngīr. Though these do not by any means exhaust the list of English visitors of that period who have left us records of their experiences, they include practically all those of real importance, with the exception of Sir Thomas Roe, whose lengthy account of his embassy is already procurable in a modern edition.

In the case of none of these narratives is a manuscript source available, and it has been necessary to go instead to the earliest printed editions. Ralph Fitch's story of his adventures appeared first in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, from which it is here reprinted. The other six are to be found in the voluminous collection published by the Rev. Samuel Purchas in 1625, and in the case of four of them we follow the text there given. For Nicholas Wotton, however, use has also been made of a fuller version (from his original manuscript) given in a scarce eighteenth-century work, while the letters of Thomas Coryat are printed from the contemporary pamphlets in which they first saw the light and from which Purchas made merely a selection.

Since each of the narratives has its own introduction, little need be said here by way of preliminary. It may perhaps be pointed out that at the time (1584) when the earliest of our travellers reached the court of Akbar the Mughal Empire in India had not yet reached its sixtieth anniversary. It was in 1525 that Bābur, then King of Kābul, crushed at Panipat the Afghān dynasty which had ruled at Delhi during the preceding three-quarters of a century. Bābur's son, Humāyūn, was driven from his throne in 1540 by Sher Shāh, the Afghān

ruler of Bengal and Bihār but recovered his kingdom in 1555 only to die in the following year leaving to his young son Akbar a precarious dominion over a territory which is to-day represented by parts of the Panjāb and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. By 1581 Akbar had largely extended his dominions. Partly by policy and partly by conquest he had become master of Gujarat, Malwa and the bulk of Rājputāna while on the east he had subdued but not yet entirely assimilated, the provinces of Bihar and Bengal. Later in his reign he recovered control of Kabul (which had become practically independent under his brother Muhammad Hakim) and added to his empire Kashmir, Sind, Kandahār, Khārfesh and parts of Ahmadnagar. On his death in 1605 he was succeeded by his only surviving son, Salim, who took the title of Nur-ud-din Jahāngir. The latter was emperor at the time of the visits of all but the first two of our travellers.

Though Southern India has little to do with our story, it may be noted that immediately to the south of the Mughal dominions lay the Muhammadan kingdoms of Ahmadnagar on the western and Golconda on the eastern side of the peninsula. South of Ahmadnagar was a third Muhammadan kingdom, that of Bijāpur, while the rest of the peninsula was still under the rule of petty Hindu princes, the chief of whom was the Hāja of Chandragiri, who represented the once powerful dynasty of Vijayanagar. In contemporary records he is commonly, though incorrectly, described as king of the Carnatic.

The only European nation holding any territorial possessions in India at the time was the Portuguese, whose regular dominions comprised merely the district round Goa and a few other parts on the western coast though some of their compatriots had established themselves in a position more or less independent, at various places on the other side of the peninsula and in the delta of the Ganges. The Portuguese had been in India longer than the Mughals, and the control they exercised

over the neighbouring seas was accepted without repining by Akbar and his successor. This was not the case with our own countrymen, and the story of the successful endeavours of the English to establish their right to trade with India, notwithstanding the opposition of the Portuguese, forms the underplot of the present volume. Its main purpose, of course, is to give a picture of the Moghul Empire as it appeared to English eyes in the days of Shakespeare.

The accuracy of the picture so presented can be judged by comparison with modern reconstructions of the period. The narratives printed in this volume are individually partial and incomplete, but their general effect is in close accordance with such works as the late Dr. Vincent Smith's *Akbar the Great Mogul*, and Mr. W. H. Moreland's *India at the Death of Akbar*, both of which are based on a much more extensive mass of evidence. In some respects the passing of four centuries has made little difference; Indians are naturally conservative, though we need not go so far as to agree that, as asserted by an Englishman in 1675, they 'prefer an old Hell to a new Heaven'. But in many important respects the change is remarkable. Even physically a great difference may be noted. Large stretches of ground now highly cultivated were then covered with jungle or else left barren. Roads were few and bad, canals scarcely existed, and railways of course had not been dreamt of. Goods were mostly carried from place to place on camels or oxen, and travellers, if they had anything worth taking, could move only in large bodies or with guards, for fear of the outlaws that infested the ways. On the frontiers (of which the southern cut right across Central India) hostilities were almost incessant, while civil wars were of frequent occurrence. Epidemics and famines constantly swept away large numbers, and their advent found the authorities fatalistic and impotent. The Government was a pure despotism, and the lives and property of all subjects, from prince to peasant, were subject to the caprice of the

reigning monarch. The revenues of the country were either spent in extravagant display and in maintaining large military forces, or else were hoarded in the imperial treasury. On the other hand justice if rough and liable to be influenced by bribery, was fairly good; traders of all nations were freely admitted, and in religious matters toleration was more consistently practised than in any European country at that period. On the whole, our travellers, who were of course comparing Indian conditions with those of their own country, were not unfavourably impressed. This was particularly the case with Terry, though his optimistic views are discounted by the fact that he really saw less of India than any of the other narrators whose stories are here given.

One fact it is well to keep in mind is that none of these accounts was designedly written for publication, except possibly that of Wroughton, who may have intended to issue it for his own justification, though there is no evidence that he did so. Terry's treatise, the only one that deals with the subject in a broad manner, was composed for the edification of the Prince of Wales. Hawkins's for the information of his employers. Fitch's narrative, as Hakluyt tells us in the dedication of his second volume, was presented to Lord Burleigh, who had doubtless taken an interest in the setting forth of the expedition. The section that bears the name of Fitch was compiled from his journal after his death by the diligent Purchas. Those dealing with the travels of Aldenham and Coryat are true letters, and their writers had no hand in their publication. These facts account to some extent for an occasional want of proportion, minor matters being described at length whilst others, of which we should have been glad to hear full details, are hurried over or omitted. There is compensation, however, in the greater naturalness of the narrative. Most of our travellers are seen, as it were, in *undress*, and we learn more of their characters than we probably should had they been conscious that they were

addressing a wider audience. Little as we know of them, beyond what we can gather from their writings, the impressions left are favourable. If they appear at times self-assertive, this was natural enough when the English were practically unknown in India and had to encounter a steady stream of disparagement from the Portuguese and their agents, the Roman Catholic missionaries. The hostility thus engendered makes our travelers at times unjust to the latter, but here we must reckon with the sturdy Protestantism of the Englishman, which rendered him quite incapable of recognizing any merit in a Jesuit. For the travelers themselves one feels a genuine admiration. One and all the men who here write their adventures so soberly and so modestly, with many a shrewd observation and occasionally a flash of humour, ran daily great risks, and in fact three of them found in the East their last resting-place, while a fourth died on the voyage home. Sickness, robbery, threats of violence were incidents that did not shake their cheerfulness, and there is little reflection in their narratives of the dangers and hardships which were constantly their lot. They had chosen to wander to the unfrequented India, and they accepted the consequences, however unpleasant, stolidly and without repining.

The assistance received from many friends in the preparation of the notes, &c., has been acknowledged in the appropriate places. For help in collecting the materials for the illustrations I have to thank Messrs. F. G. H. Anderson, E. A. H. Burt, B. K. Parry, and A. K. Smith, all of the Indian Civil Service, also M. Henri Omont of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, who not only gave me permission to reproduce the portrait of the Emperor Jahângîr, but kindly arranged for the taking of the necessary photograph.

In reprinting the various narratives, the old spelling has been retained, except that the use of *u* for *v*, of *v* for *u*, and of *i* for *j* has not been followed, while as regards punctuation

and the employment of capital letters modern practice has also been observed. In the spelling of Oriental names, both of persons and of places, the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* has been mostly adopted as a guide; but vowels occurring at the end of a word have not been marked as long, though they should be understood to be so.

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Railic.¹ Evidently he had learnt much about the routes between India and Persia, and had come to the conclusion that route by that route was perfectly feasible.

Plans were quickly made for a further experiment in the same direction, and the result was the journey which is here chronicled. The necessary funds were found chiefly by Osborne and Sauer, an Newbery was placed in charge of the expedition. The party consisted of a number of merchants (among whom we need only mention John Elder and Ralph Pate), together with an expert in guns named William Leeds, and a painter named James Scurry, who, according to Linschoten, was not employed by the promoters of the venture but joined in order to seek his fortune. It was arranged that two of the merchants should be left at Bagdad with a part of the stock, and two more at Basra with a further quantity of goods, while Newbery and Pate should continue their journey to the Indies. For this purpose they were furnished with letters of introduction from Queen Elizabeth and passed to the Mingid Emperor Akbar (descendant of the king of the Turks), and also to the Emperor of China. Both letters are among the documents printed by Hakluyt.

The general story of the history of the first portion of the journey are fairly abundant. Besides Elder's narrative, Hakluyt gives one by Pate (who did not go farther than Basra), together with six letters from Newbery and one from Elder, while Pate has supplementary notes by three more letters from Elder and two from Newbery. In addition we have another interesting account particularly descriptive of experiences at Gost, by Linschoten in his *Itinerario* (Hakluyt Society's edition, vol. i. p. 358). These documents are not so numerous since we are already interested in that portion of the narrative which concerns his travels after quitting Gost, as this, however, has been made of them to supply a few details which are so conspicuously lacking in Pate's own account.

Newbery and his companions sailed from London in the *Tiger* on February 1583 and reached Akko about May 20. On the last day of that month they started on their adventurous journey, and on August 1 found themselves safe in Basra, the great tower of Mesopotamia. Newbery's plan was to go by boat to Basra on the Persian coast, and thence proceed by land to India, but he was obliged to abandon this idea because a mutual quarrel could not be settled. Forcibly therefore Turkish interference on the part of the Portuguese, the little party

¹ Accounts of this and of a previous journey of his in Syria and Palestine will be found in *Furber's History of the East* (Part i. ch. x. p. 3).

² Her husband's to Akko gave the master of the *Tiger* leave to visit Warchin (Acre), a clear proof (as a previous writer has remarked) that Shakespeare knew his Hakluyt.

embarked for Ormuz, which was reached early in September. The Italian merchants resident in the island were quick to note the arrival of fresh trade competitors (concerning whose intention they had apparently been warned from Aleppo), and on their insinuations that the new comers were heretics and spies, acting in the interests of the pretender to the Portuguese throne, our travellers were arrested and sent to Goa. At the latter place they were confined in a prison, where they remained about a month. They found friends, however, in two Jesuits, and a Dutchman and the latter an Englishman, Father Thomas Stevens¹, also in the young Dutchman Laenschoten (already mentioned), who, being in the suite of the Archdeacon of Goa, was able to exert some useful influence in their favour. The fact that they all professed to be good Catholics did not on their behalf avail just before Christmas 1583. Newberry, Fitch, and Lexlew were released on bail.

Stevens had already obtained his liberty by agreeing to become a lay brother in the Jesuits' convent, where his talents were needed for the decorum of the church. The others now took a shop and carried on a little trade, and two letters written by Newberry and Fitch in January 1584 spoke of a fairly good prospect. Before long, however, matters assumed a different aspect. The Jesuits hinted that the Englishmen would probably be sent to Portugal by the next fleet and the Viceroy, to whom they applied for the return of the money they had deposited in the hands of the Jesuits, returned a threatening answer. Alarmed at this, they decided to make their escape, and early in April 1584, under pretext of an

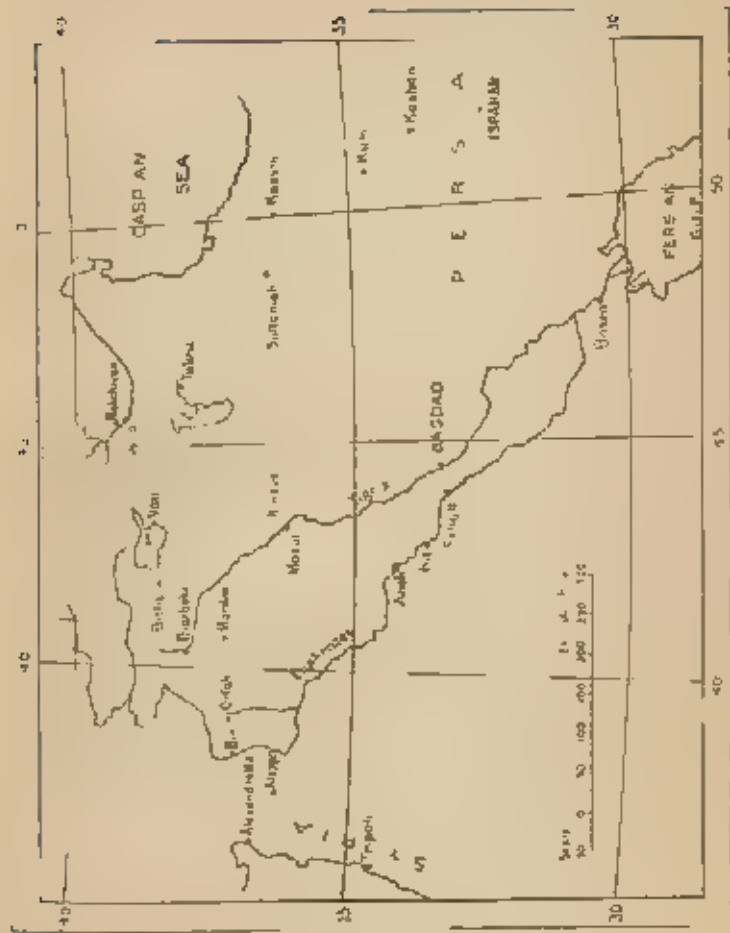
¹ It is commonly necessary to recall that Stevens is famous as the first Englishman known to have set foot on Indian soil. Born in Winton in Dorsetshire, he made his way to Rome and there entered the Jesuit order. Being zealous of serving in India, he obtained a passage at Lisbon in the spring of 1579 and reached Goa in October of that year. A letter to his father describing the voyage will be found in the pages of Hakluyt. Stevens embarked in a factory ship, leaving in 1579, at the age of twenty. He was the first to begin to make a scientific study of Indian life. He wrote two or three works, one of which is still in MS. and still keeps his memory green in that part of India.

February 1585, but I imagine that this is a slip, since he narrates a journey completely consistent with the having spent six or a month in Goa. In the same way the late letter of Newberry and Fitch from Fatehpur Sirhind, of November 25, 1585, should probably be read as meaning a year earlier. Still, to be so informed in the Emperor's movements, for he was at Fatehpur six or so months of each year, but it is clear that the travellers probably went to Agra through the rainy season (which they would hardly have done unless pressed for time), and once they had seen the Emperor, Newberry would doubtless be anxious to

Goconda they started for the court of the Moghal Emperor whose territories were entered near Burhanpur. From that place they followed the main route through Ujjain and got safely to Agra only to find that Akbar was at his new city of Fatehpur Sikri about twenty miles away. Proceeding thence, they presently waited upon the Emperor concerning whom Fitch says tantaleum was told. What or they had succeeded in getting from the Portuguese Queen Elizabeth's letter, and whether it was now presented we are not told, nor whether any grant of a license was secured for further use. At Fatehpur Sikri the travellers heard that he offered the service of the Emperor and hence forward nothing more is heard of him. Newbery decided to make his way home overland, and in two days disappears from view, dying on the journey according to Fitch's account, "I know not when or where." Exactly he had come to the conclusion that the project of an overland trade was hopeless, for he perceived "how to meet him in Bergea within two years' with a shippe out of England."

Fitch was to spend the time meanwhile in exploring the eastern parts of India, and so after his companion's departure he floated slowly, with the river from Agra to Tatan in Bengal, stopping on the way at Allahabad, Benares, and Patna. From Tanjore he made an excursion eastwards to Koch Bihar, after which he resumed his voyage down the Ganges to the Portuguese settlement at Hugli, and thence proceeded to Chittagong. At both these places he would find Portuguese traders, and with them he probably established friendly relations without difficulty. They did not recognize the authority of the Viceroy of Goa or any other Portuguese official, and their attitude towards a fellow European worded as he influenced by any trouble he had with the representatives of their government elsewhere. It was the vast belonging to one of them that Fitch referred to Pegu, and we may infer that this association with the Portuguese fraction that he now visited known, Sriper and South-east in Eastern Bengal.

In November 1589, there being no sign of Newbery's promised return, our traveller decided to extend his travels in an easterly direction and accordingly sailed for Pegu. Landing at Kasim Chow Hassan, he there took boat and proceeded along the intricate network of inland waterways to a place called Maw, whence a short journey by land brought him to the city of Pegu. Of this place of the royal court of the eastern &c. The people regarded him as a saint. He took a palace which was vacant to King, and in the Siam-Siam States nearly two hundred miles north-east of Pegu, a hazardous venture which he risked in the most matter-of-fact manner. Returning to the latter place, he proceeded in January 1588 to Malacca, where he stayed seven



MESOPOTAMIA

right worshipful Sir Edward Osborne knight and M Richard Staper esquires and merchants of London did ship my self in a ship of London called the *Tiger* wher in we went for Tripolis & Syria, and from thence we took the way for Aleppo, which we went on seven days with the caravan being in Aleppo, not bringing good company we went from thence to Bera which is two dayes journey an hundred mile with caravans.

Bera [Berber or Berick] is a little towne but very plentiful of victuals, and nere to the wall of the towne runneth the river of Euphrates. Here we hired a boat and agreed with a master and his men for to go to Babelon. These boates be hired for one voyage for the streyer both mane and lad downewardes that they cannot retorne. They take you to a towne which they call Belgha [Belgat] wher there you sell the boate for a little money for that which cost you little at Bera you see there for seven or eight. From Bera to Belgha is extreme dayes journey. It is not good take one boate go alone for if it should chace to breake you should have much to doe to save your goods from the Arabians which be always there about robbing, and in the night when your boate be made fast it is necessary that you keepe good watch for the Arabians that be thence will come swimming and steale your goods and the way against wind is good is very good for this daye few are very rich. In the river of Euphrates from Bera to Belgha there be certayne places where you pay custome to many countries for a small caravans taking and certayne reasons and wape, which is for the service of Mesopotamia called of the Arabians and all that great desert and hath some villages upon the river. Belgha wher you make it is a good wher you come from Bera to a little village from whence you goe to Babelon in a day.

Babelon [Babylon] is a towne not very great but very populous and of great traffike of strangers, for that was the

¹ In a copy from Eschschert. For have omitted the word *quest* or *quest* in the text. *Quest* is a word used in the text. That was the quest or *quest*.

² A T. shows you, *quest* is a word used in the text.

³ *Quest* is a word used in the text.

⁴ *Quest* is a word used in the text.

way to Persia, Turkia and Arabia, and from thence doe goe caravans for those and other places. There are great store of victrials, which come from Armenia, over the river of Tygris. They are brought upon raftes made of goatens skines blowne full of winde, and boares layde upon them, and the reapers they ride the re goods which are brought downe to Babelon, which beinge dismantled, they open the skines, and carry them thicke by evayle, to serve another time. Babylon in times past did belong to the kingdome of Persia, but nowe is subject to the Turke. Over against Babilon there is a very faire village, from whence you passe to Babylon upon a long bridge made of boats, and tyed to a great chain of iron, which is made fast on either side of the river. When any boates are to passe up or downe the river, they take away certayne of the boares, and li they be past.

The Tower of babil¹ is builded thus side the river Tygris, towards Arabia from the towne, about six hundred futes, which tower is walled at all sides, and with the fall there of halfe fute, as it were a hundred fute, so that it hath no escape at all. It was builded of brickes dried in the sunne, and certayne raves and leaves of the palm tree layed betwixt the brickes. There is no entrance to be seen to goe into it. It doth stand upon a great plain betwixt the rivers of Euphrates and Tygris.

By the river Euphrates, two dayes journey from Babylon at a place called Anjithy, in a hole nere unto it, is a strange thing to see, a mouth that doth continually throw forth against the ayre, heaving pitch with a stilly stroke, which pitch doth runne abroad into a great field, which is a waves full thereof. The Moores say that it is the mouth of hell. By reason of the great quantity of it, the men of that country doe pitch their boats two or three inches thicke on the out side, so that no water can enter into them. Their boates are called *Eme-janthu*. When there is great store of water in Tygris, you may goe from Babylon to Bessora in 6 or 7 dayes. If there be a dill store, it will cost you the more dayes.

Babylon it does past many hands the Arabians, but now is subject to the Turke. But some of them the Turke cannot

¹ The reference is evidently to the ruined tower known Akkad, situated in the heart about nine miles west of Bagdad.

subdige for that they holde certaine landes in the river Euphrates which the Turke cannot winne of them. They be thewes all, and have no settled dwelling, but remove from place to place with their camels, goutes and horses, wives and children and all. They have large blew gowanes; their waxes, eares and noses are ringed very full of rings of copper and silver, and they weare rings of copper about their legs. Basora standeth neere the Gasse of Persia, and is a towne of great trade of spices and drugges, which come from Ormus. Also there is great store of wheate, ryce, and dates growing thereabout, wherewith they serve Babylon and all the countrey Ormus, and all the partes of India. I went from Basora to Ormus downe the Gasse of Persia in a certaine shippe made of basket and sewed together with cattre [cork], which is the trade entre of the Turke of eunies, and certaine canies or straw-leaves sewed upon the seams of the hullies, which is the cause that they wake very much. And so, having Persia alwayes on the left hand, and the coast of Arabia on the right hand, we passed many landes, and among others the famous lande Baharan [Bahrein], from whence come the best pearles, which be round and orient.

Ormus is an island in circuit about five and twentie or thirte miles, and is the greatest island in the world, for there is nothing growing there but onely sall, for their water, wheat or victuals, and all things necessary come out of Persia, which is about twelve miles from thence. All the deales thereabout be very fruitful, from whence all kinde of victuals are sent unto Ormus. The Portugales have a castle here, which stretcheth neere unto the sea, wherein there is a captaine for the king of Portugall, having under him a convenient number of souldiers, wherof some part remaine in the castle and some in the towne. In this towne are merchants of all nations, and many Moores and Gentiles.¹ Here is very great trade of all sortes of spices, drugges, silke, cloth of silke, fine tapestrie of Persia, great store of pearles which come from the Isle of Baharan, and are the best pearles of any others, and

¹ This term from the Portuguese *gentil* was usually applied to the non-Christian natives of Asia, and is employed to denote any non-Mohammedan Asiatic.

his wife was taken by the Great Mogor, who is the King of
 Agra and of Del. which are f the dayes journey from the
 country of Calicut. Here the women were upon their
 stree, and many of them much of copper & teeth
 wherein they take so much delight that they had rather be
 without their moir then without their bracelets. Going
 from this we came to Dacca the second wife of the Portu-
 gues of the country of Calicut which is distant from the
 further heppes. Here is no trade but of some white rice. They
 have many silver rings upon their which they greatly possess
 of their own price, but in time of warre the custom is to sever of
 them. From thence we passed by Massora Bassett and from
 Massora to Tana, Thana, at both which places a small trade
 but only of corn and rice. The tenth of November we arrived
 at Chao, which standeth in the Indian land. There are two
 townes, the one belongeth to the Portugales and the other
 to the Moors. That of the Portugales is nearer to the sea
 and somewhat off the bay and is walled round about. A
 little above that is the towne of the Moors which is
 governed by a Moore King called Na Marques. Here is
 great traffike for all sortes of spices and drugges, silke
 and cloth of sate, sandales (sandal wood), elephants teeth
 and much China ware, and much sugar which cometh of the
 nalle called Gattara. The tree is called the pinner (Port
 palm-tree) where is the profitablest tree in the world. It
 with alwayes beare fruit and both yeeld white and sugar
 young & cooke color. of the leaves are made thaten for the
 women say as for shoppes made to stand by one of the branches
 they make their houses and broomes to sweep. of the tree
 wood for shoppes. The wine cometh out of the toppe of
 the tree. They cut a branch of a bowe and bende it hard and
 hange an earthen pot upon it which they empty every
 morning and every evening and shake it and put in certayne

¹ The Portuguese name for the King of Ahmadnagar was Nizam Salim. Nizam Mulk Feroze was the name of the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, Zahiruddin Muhammad, who from 1550 to 1565 was patron of Fitch's travels.

² *Shah of Persia* = Sultan. Fitch has here mentioned Feroze, but it is not clear whether he meant the ruler of Ahmadnagar or the ruler of the Sultan of Persia, Shah of Persia.

dried rays, and it becometh very strong wine in short time. Hence many ships come from all parties of India, Ormus, and many from Moscovia, hence be many Muscovs and Tartars. They have a very strange manner of food. They use *chickens*, *geese*, and esteem much of the *swallow* being a pretty warden of their houses. They will eat it raw, not so much as a horse. For they lack the same to know it. They eat no flesh, but live by roots and even and oaks. And when the husband die, his wife is married with him if she be alive. If she were not her family is given, and then is never any account made of her after. They say if they should be married it were a great shame for of their law's there would were many women and other verities, and what their law's were consisted these women would make a sentence when were a shame, therefore they will be buried. In Turkish they will kill nothing, but have it, that is, kill it, as we thus have *chickens* to kill, *geese* does not, and all the fowls. They will go to eat to the ants.

There is the most *ginseng* place which the Portuguese have in India, wherein are *ginseng* trees, th with the bark. It stand in an island, which may be 25 or 30 miles about. It is a fertile and for an island to be very fertile. The island is very full of orchards and gardens, and many pretty trees, and hath some villages. Here be many *ginseng* of all nations. And the place which is named *ginseng* from Portugal would be four, five, or six great supplies for the first house. And they come for the first time in September, and remaine there forty, or fifty dayes, and then go to Cutch, where they have their pepper for Portugal. Other times they trade one in four. The port for to Cutch is from Goa an hundred leagues southward. Governeth in the country of *Holam*, who lieth in the country six or seven dayes journey. His chiefe city is *Calcut*. At our morning we were cast into the prison, and examined before the Justice and demanded for others, and were released by the spies, but they could prove nothing by us. We remained in prison until the twenty of December, and then we were set at liberty, gotten in writing for two hundred

¹ *Al-kharr*, *the gum*, i. e. the gum of myrrour. (*Al-kharr*.)

ducks not to depart the towns, which surprises Father Stevens an English Justice which we found there and another religious man a friend of his, procured for us. Our master's name was Andreus Thibon to whom we paid 2,150y licks and still he demanded more. Whereupon we paid out to the Viceroy and Justice to have our money again, considering that they had had it with their hands before and for this and could prove nothing against us. The Viceroy made us a very sharp answer and said we should be better off before it were long and that they had further matter against us. Whereupon we presently determined rather to seek our liberties than to be in danger for ever to be slaves in the country for it was told us we should have the strangest Whetson presently the 15th day of April 1583¹ in the morning we came from thence. And being sea over the river we went two days on foot but without fear not knowing the way nor having any more for we trust trust none. One of the best towns where we came in to is called Hobergan [Hoburg] where there is a great market kept of mammoth rubies, sapphires and many other soft stones. From Hobergan we went to Bisapor which is a very great towne where the king doth keep his court. He hath many Gentiles in his court and they be great idolaters. And they have their idols standing in the wood which they call Phaulen². Some be like a cow some like a truck some like buffles some like peacocks and some like the hynd. Here be very many elephants which they use to warr withall. Here they have goods ore of gold and silver. Their houses are of stone very faire and rich. From hence we went far from the king whereof we heard nothing since we came. Here and in the Kingdom of Hobergan and in the countrey of the King of Dehan we saw many of the monuments found of the olde world. It is a very fine

¹ A year does not exist at the time we were sailing across the ocean then all we did had a ship. The author thus is a little vague.

² Probably 1584 (see p. 3).

³ The author is speaking in India these monuments. I am almost sure that he is not speaking of a ship. It is a ship we saw from the bridge of a great river.

⁴ The king is the king of the kingdom of Dehan. The city of Dehan, situated about five miles west of Chanderpur is now in ruins.

towne plentiful with fine houses of bricke and timber. It is watered with great store of fountains and fresh water. Here the men and the women do growe very fat, because about their cities without any more exercise. We found there very late. The winter beginneth here about the end of May. In these partes is a perfume tree called *Myrrour tree*, which strengthned drives people from a house away, the leaf of the same winter and every shewes out of them. Peas and several very richly laden with pepper, spices, and other commodities. The river is very good and capacious.

From thence the first of January I went to Servadon which is a fine country at the King's court the King of Hec². The houses here live at Hual³ and out of town. Here be many Moores and Indians, but there is no religion about them. From thence I went to the port and so to Hec⁴ port where I was in the country of Zamora, Palahar, and the Akhar. In this place their money is called a *kar* of silver and is valued to the value of twenty pence which is very good silver. It is a very fine green and a populous country. In their water which is in here by a river, Akhar there were passing in the street with horses the water is so high. The houses are made of cane and thatched. There is great store of gold and costly people and painted clothes of other wood. Here groweth great store of cotton and rice. We found villages great store both in townes and villages of many places where were passed of houses of eight or ten acres, and great of five or six acres out. They be both the upon the horse very thickly decked and are carried through the town with great crying and playing and a return home and eat of a basket made of rice and fruit, and there they dance the most part of the night, and so make an end of the marriage. They be not together any of the water vessels are. They say they marry their children so young because

¹ Here and in certain other passages, Portuguese India appears to be meant.

² *Ussine* Pich means that is the name of the place of the river, and the name of the river is the name of the river. The name of the river is the name of the river.

³ *Ussine* Pich means that is the name of the place of the river.

⁴ *Ussine* Pich means that is the name of the place of the river.

it is an order that when the man dieth the woman must be
burned with him. And that if the father or mother may have
a child or two, no more to bring up, for that which has
justice. And that they were not leave her son or daughter without
work or father for his wife and husband. From thence
we went to Malabar, where every thing is new. It was
behold to see a cross by Zeladon before he
could wear it. It standeth upon a very great high rock as
the chief part of their castle, and it was for a very great
space. From thence we went to Uzun, Uzun and Ser
run, Serun where were a castle the ambassador of
Zeladon together with a marvelous great company of men
leopards and tigers. There is great trade of cotton and both
much of cotton and great store of drugs. From thence we
went to Agny passing many rivers, which by reason of the
rain was so swollen that we were not able to swim, so often they
for our lives.

Agny is a very great city and populous, built with stone,
having fair and large streets, with a fair river running by
it which floweth into the gulf of Bengala. It hath a fair
castle and a strong wall and a very fair ditch. There be many
Moors and Gentiles. The king is called Zeladon before,
for people for the most part call him the Great Major. From
thence we went for Fatesore (Fathour Sikur) which is the
place where the king keeps his court. The court is greater than
Agny, but the houses and streets be not so fair. There dwell
many people, both Moors and Gentiles. The king hath in
Agny and Fatesore by his command buy about 3,000 elephants,
thirty thousand horses, 2,000 tame deer, and some few
species of monkeys, tigers, bull-dogs, cats, and hawks. That
is very strange to see. He keeps a great court which they
call Dierman. Agny and Fatesore are two very great cities.

¹ Mandi, in India state, about thirty miles SW of Mhow. The
story of the slave is mythical.

² Fatah, this was Abdulah Khan, who was won by Akbar
from the Portuguese. He was a famous general. There
was a great battle with him, but before the day of the
battle he was wounded and died.

³ Choluta (hunting leopards).

⁴ Persian *darikhana*, a palace.

their priests come to the water and have a string about their necks and with great ceremony and draw up water with both their hands and cast it over the string first with both their hands with and then the water over the string. The water is so cold they wash their faces and their bodies in water. These Gaudes were certainly marked by the G. They live with rice, little milk and fruits. They pray in the water naked and dress their head and feet marked off for their permanent hair that upon the earth and cast up and turn themselves about 30 or 40 times and use to heave up their hands to the sky and to kiss the earth with their arms and legs stretched out and the right leg always before the left. Every time they come when they mark a place on the ground with their finger to know when their starting place is. The Bramines mark themselves in the forehead, eyes, and forearms with a kind of yellow grease which they prod out every day they do so. As they have some children which go in the streets with a piece of yellow powder and make it on their heads and necks as they meet them. At the new moon come by 10, 20, and 30 days after to the water side kneeling and there do wash themselves and then use the ceremony and mark themselves with their forearms and faces and carry some with them and so depart singing. Their children be married at or before the age of 10 years. The men may have 7 wives. They be a kind of fierce people worse than the Jewes. When they salute one another they heave up their hands to their eyes and say Hare Hare [Ran]

From Agra I came to Praga [Prayaga now Allahabad] where the river Jamuna cometh into the Ganges river Ganges and Jamuna whose name is Ganges cometh out of the northwest and runneth east to the Gange of Bengalia. In these parts there are many tigers and many porcupines and musk oxes and much other fowle. Here be many hunters in these countries who goe naked and the people take great account of them. They call them beoars. Here I saw one which was a monster among the rest. He would eat nothing upon land. His beard was very long and when he came to the

Footnote: and the Thomas manuscript the Sanskrit *chakya*, a hunter.

and he covered his privities. The nails of some of his fingers were two inches long for he would not rather from any nearer world be smacked. He was much pained with thought or heat and they spoke for him. When any man speak to him he would say no. He would not be smacked and bowe to such but would not speak. He would not speake to the king. We went from Pragee downe to Jagee the which is a very hard. He rode most at steepe of fish and sundry sorts and of many fowles of swannes, geese, cranes, and many other things. The country is very fruitful and populous. The men for the most part have their faces shaven, and their beards very long except some which be a little less say the crowne, and some of them are as though it can be sold for a dish on their heads at street for a pice, all but the crowne. In the river of Ganges are many tharke. His water is very sweete and pleasant, and the country is very fruitful. From thence we went to Benarraz [Benares] which is a great towne, and great store of cloth is made here of cotton and muslin [Cotton]. Also for the Moors. In that towne they be all Gentiles and be the greatest idolaters that ever I knew. To that towne come the Gacches on pilgrimage out of farre countries. There is a place the water side here very many faire houses and much of them are for the best part they have their houses standing up which be well favoured, made of stone and wood, some dark for colour and work is some like the red and white and orange, and some like the dew with fine grained and flaynde. They sit cross-legged some with one thing in their hands and some another. And by break of day and before there are men and women which come out of the towne and wash themselves in Ganges. And there are divers children which open pan or heart round for the purpose to praye, and they give the pice, three or foure straws, which they take and hold them betwene their fingers when they were a ready, and some sit to marke the sun in the forehead, and they have in their hands a little rice, barley, or barley which when they have washed themselves they give to the children which sit there praying. Afterwards they go to some of their images and give them of their sacrifices. And when they give the old men say certaine prayers, and then is all



THE GHATS AT BENARES

only. And in divers places there standeth a kind of image which doth they call *ganga* they call *Aia*, and they have divers great stones carved, whereon they putre wood and grow thereupon some rice wheate barley and some other things. Thus *Aia* hath life as if it were a living creature. Moreover they have a great place made in stone like to a well with steps to goe downe, wherein the water standeth very deepe and standeth for the great quantitie of flwers. When cometh they they throw in oil for make it stink. And be alwayes busy praying in it. For they say when they wash themselves in it can their sinnes be forgiven them because God as they say, did wash himself in that place. They gather up the seede in the bottom of it and say it is holy. They never praye in the water as if it was themselves overhead and beat up water with their hand. And when they see a shower and can they drinke a little of the water there it is and so goe but at gods which stand in those houses. Some of them we wast a place where is their eagle and each will pray upon the earth with their armes outstretched at length one and will rise up and goe downe and kisse the ground twise or thrise a day but they will not chide one another. And some of them will take their carterioys with lift one or sixe or ten of the great armying a side and when they make their dance and dance twelve times, and they make a circle of water round about their pots and pray at divers sides and once that round about their pots and they say many times over their pots many times and when they have done they goe to their gods and strowe their sacrifices which they thinke are very holy and make many of them which set by in the herounds. where they take a great gift. There are some which seeme to be afraid togather to wash them in the well and to offer to these gods. They have in some of these houses carterioys standing and others set by the sun warme with a little beere windy upon them. And when they see any company coming they sing a litle be which hath gotten by the gods and they have their station but specially those which are called *carterioys*. Many of them are blacke and have crowes of brasse with long tayles and some ride upon peacocks and other fowles which be evil

favour'd with long harkes, also and some like the former and some at other, but all with a good face. Amongst others there is one woman I saw, who gave account of her they say for a very fair one, all her clothes both inside and apparell, and also all the wayes by her self, affording to look towards me.

Here some her husband was seen, search'd in the fire and farow for the water and did go off as did presently catch them. The women here doe burne with their husbands when they lie, if they were not their heads be shaven, and never any garment is made of them afterwards. The people are naked save as the lota, which is wet their neck. Their women have their locks attires, and are deck'd with rings of silver, copper, iron, and with beaded necks made of iron, adorned with coral stones, and with their aglets and becs are marked with a green spot of red in their forehead, and a stroke of red to the crowne, and so at length to the bottom of their waies. Their water was our May, for many were attired gownes of cotton like to our sandresses and quibbous, like to our great gowns, and others with a shirt of iron, and some had cowrie beads in their noses. If a man or woman be ake and let the lady will have medicine for him, she will profit, and that shall help him or take away the evil of him. And she did not say that the women is, men will come against with her, the victory at afterwards will carry him to the water side and set him upon a little raft made of reeds, and so let him goe towne the river. When they be near of the mouth of the woman come to the water side, and there is an old man, who will give him a Brahma (that is, a piece of cowe and a calf or a cowe with calf). Then the man and the woman, cowe and calf, are set upon a mat, goe into the water together, and they give to the man a white cloth of some yard long, and a casket cross-bred with divers things, with the cowe and calf upon his back. The cowe and the calf take the cowe by the chine of a little and with their mouths, and shake out a copper or a brass pot full of water, and so the water is shed, and by some rats come in the wayes in. By their reasones it should be the cowe by the tail, and by poure water all of it up upon the cowes back, and it retracta through all their fatnes.

and they take up water with the rhydes, and then they come southward and sell together in the cities. Which when they are told about the cows and calves and then they give somewhat to the poor which be alwayes there and to the Brahmins or priests they give the cows and calves and afterward go to divers of their cities and offer money and to some lay upon the ground and kiss it seven times and then go the other way. Their cattle shes bee blacke and small fawnted their mouths monstrous their ears great, and full of sores. Their beards and eyes of gold, silver, and glasse. Some having one thing in their hands and some another. You may not come all the houses where they stand with your shooes on. They have continually lampes burning before them.

From Bayanas I went to Patenaw [Patna] downe the river of Ganges where in the way we passed many faire towers, and a country very fruitful, and many very great rivers doe enter into Ganges and some of them as great as Ganges which is the Ganges. Thee of a great breadth, and so broad that in some of them you cannot see from one side to the other. These Indians when they bee searched¹ and throwen into the water the men swimme with their faces downewards the women with their faces upwards. I thought they told something to them because they told so, but they say no. There be very many thieves in this country which be like to the Arabians for they have no certain abode. They are sometime in one place and sometime in another. Here the women doe sell silk with silver and copper that it is strange to see, they use no shooes by reason of the rags of silver and copper where they weare on their feet. Here at Patenaw they know gold in this manner. They digge deepe pits in the earth and washe the earth in great beams, and therein they finde the gold, and they make the pits round about with bricks that the earth fall not out. Patenaw is a very long and a great town. In times past it was a kingdom but now it is under Zashier Behhar the Great Mogor. The men are tall and slender and have many old locks among their hair. The houses are simple, made of earth and covered with strawe, the

¹ He is speaking of corpses partly buried.

streets are very large. In the towne there is a trade of cotton and cloth of cotton and sugar which they carry from home to Bengala and have very good pearls and other commodities. He that is chief here under the king is named Tipperias (Tippur Das) and is of great account among the people. Here in Patana I saw a deserting prisoner which said upon an horse in the market place and made as though he sought company of the people came and took him away with their hands, and then loosed their hands. They took him for a great man, but sure he was a lusty robber. I left him there sleeping. The people of these countries do much given to sucking and deserting Europeans.

From Patanaw I went to Janna which is in the land of
Garon [Gaur]. It had in times past only a kingdom but
now is subdued by Zolabon [Zabar] Goral tribes and
Tribhuan is here of whom and I both of whom. The people
go naked with a little cloth round about their waste. It
stands in the country of Bengala. It is in many rivers
with huge mountains of white sand. They are very great
clay pits. Pinda stands from the river Ganges a boat
because in times past the river flowing over the banks in
time of rain and down to the country and many villages and
so they do remain. And the old way which the river Ganges
was wont to run returned dry which is the occasion that
the water does stand so far from the water. From Agni
down the river Janna and down the river Ganges I was
fix months coming to Bengala but it may be said in
much shorter time.

I went seven Bengala into the country of Uaghe which

The \mathcal{H}^1 -norm of u is defined by

$$\|u\|_{\mathcal{H}^1} = \left(\int_{\mathbb{R}^n} |\nabla u|^2 dx \right)^{1/2}.$$
 The \mathcal{H}^1 -norm of u is denoted by $\|u\|_{\mathcal{H}^1}$.

[illegible]

known the propriety of looking ahead and the importance of

There is a country *4* miles journey from Louche or Quachu
 before a throne which is called Hottater¹ and the name
 Bottu the king is called Barmata. The people wear red
 very tall and strong and there are merchants which come
 out of China and they say out of Muscovia or Tartarie. And
 they come to buy market candles² agate, silk, jetter and
 saffron like the saffron of Persia. The country is very great
 and it is journey. There are very high mountains in this
 country and one of them is so steep that when a man is in his
 journey that he may see perfectly. And these mountains
 are a people which say comes of a stormy king, if the rains
 be cold they call them apes. They say that when they be
 upon the mountains, they see ships in the sea saying to and
 fro but they know not from whence they come nor whither
 they go. There are merchants which come out of the East
 they say from under the sun which is from China which
 they say no wars and they say there is some rock which
 be there which come from the other side of the mountain,
 which is from the north say there it is very cold. These
 northern merchants are apparelled with woollen cloth and
 hats white horse shoes and houses which be of Muscovia or
 Tartarie. They report that in their country they have very
 good horses but they be little, some men have have five or
 six hundred horses and gear they live well to eat and lease.
 They eat the scales of their king and sell them very dear
 for they be in great request and most esteemed in their
 parts. The hat of them is a yard long the rump is above
 a span long they use to hang them for braverie upon the
 heads of the elephants, they be much used in Pegu and
 China. They buy and sell by scores upon the ground. The
 people are very swift on foot.

For in Chal-gia in Barmata I came to Bactol,³ the king
 Arkan. From Chal-gia there is a country have been no country
 for the great village of Indragiri in the southern part of Sultang
 is a

The town is a town which can be seen as a town
 the town is a town which can be seen as a town
 the town is a town which can be seen as a town

Indragiri was the old name of the town of Indragiri in Eastern Bengal. No town is known of that name, but Mr. A. D. B. B.

whereof is a Gentile, a man very well disposed and delighteth much to shoot in a gun. His country is very great and fruitful and hath store of rice, brim cotton cloth and cloth of silk. The houses be very faire and high builded, the streets large, the people naked except a litle cloth about their waste. The women weare great store of silver loops about their neckes and arms, and their legs are ringed with silver and copper and rings made of elephants teeth.

From Bacora I went to Serrepore which standeth upon the river of Ganges. The king is called Chanderi¹. They be all herabout rebels against the king Zohadun Eshelkar, for here are so many rivers and lands, that they flee from one to another, whereby his horsemen cannot prevayle against them. Great store of cotton cloth is made here.

Singargan² is a towne six leagues from Serrepore, where there is the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in a land. The chief king of all these countries is called Bacer and he is chiefe of all the other kings, and is a great friend to all Christians. The houses here, as they be in the most part of India, are very hie, and covered with strawe and have a few mats round about the walls, and the doore to keep out the tigers and the foxes. Many of the people are very rich. Here they will eat no flesh nor kill no beast, they live of rice, melle, and fruits. They goe with a litle cloth before them and all the rest of their bodies is naked. Great store of cotton cloth cometh from hence and much rice, wherewith they serve all *Indies*, Ceylon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, and many other places.

I went from Serrepore the 28 of November 1586 for Pegu, in a small ship or foist of one Albert Caravaches. And so ridge, in an *memoir* of the District, suggests that Bacher is referring to the old capital, Bahadur, on the west bank of the Titumir river about twenty-five miles south-east of Barisal.

Chāna Itā, a post town whose quarters were at Sripur near Bājadārī, at the confluence of the Meghna and the Padma. The latter river was long since washed away beyond

Sonargaon, the capital of Eastern Bengal. In 1608 or about fifteen miles east of Dacca. Isa Khan was an Afghan chief of Kl. rank near Narayanganj in Dacca Province, who became one of the Afghans throughout Eastern Bengal and at one time ruled over a large tract of country.

passing downe Ganges, and passing by the island of Sundya.¹ Porto Grande, or the countrey of Tippera, the kingdom of Eleon and Mogen, leaving them on our left side with a faire wind at north-west, our course was southerly and by east, which brought us to the barre of Negrais in Pegu. If any contrary wind had come, we had tarried many of our things overboard, for we were so pestered with people and goods that there was scant place to lie in. From Bengala to Pegu is 60 leagues. We entered the barre of Negrais, which is a brave barre and hath 4 fadomes water where it hath least. Three dayes after we came to "Cosman," which is a very pretie towne, and standeth very pleasantly, very well furnished with all things. The people be very tall and well disposed; the women white round faced, with little eyes. The houses are high built, set upon great high postes, and they goe up to them with long ladders for feare of the tygers, which be very many. The countrey is very fruitful of all things. Here are very great figs, oranges, coconuts, and other fruits. The land is very high that we sail without, but after we be entered the barre, it is very lowe and full of rivers, for they goe all too and fro in boates, when they call *paroes*,² and keepe their houses with wife and children in them.

From the barre of Nigras to the citie of Pegu is ten dayes journey by the rivers. We went from Cosman to Pegu in *paroes* or boates; and passing up the rivers wee came to Medon, which is a pretie towne, where there be a wonderful number of *paroes*, for they keepe their houses and their markets in them all upon the water. They rowe too and fro, and have all their merchandizes in their boates with a great *sombbrero*³ or shalke over their heads to keepe the sunne from them, which is as broad as a great cart wheele made of the leaves of the coco trees and fig trees, and is very light.

From Medon we went to Dela, which is a very faire towne,

¹ The is and of Sandwip, off the coast of Chittagong district.

² *Kosima*, the *basaku* of to-day, in the Irrawaddy delta.

³ Port *parde*, from an Indian word meaning a boat.

⁴ Port, *sombbrero*, an umbrella.

⁵ Medon cannot be identified. Dela or Dala was the name of a large district to the west of Rangoon, an Indian word applied to the part of the city which lies across the river. Fitch, however, is referring

for centibels to watch more of wood is engilded with gold
very faire. The streets are the fairest that ever I saw, as
straite as a line from one gate to the other, and so straite
that twenty or twelve men may rowe a fraise throu them.
On both sides of the street every ninth house is set a perfect
tree, which is the nat tree, which make a very faire shew
and a very comfortable shadow, so that a man may walke in
the shade all day. The houses be made of wood and covered
with tiles. The kings house is in the middle of the city, and
is walled and fortified round about, and the best house within
be made of wood very sumptuously garnished with great work-
manship upon it, far beyond which I saw was very satisfactory
guest. And the house where it is possible or able to move it
covered with tiles of silver, and all the walls are engilded with
gold. Within the first gate of the kings house is a great
large garden, as I perceived, on both sides where are houses
rich for the king of plants, which be many to be great and
faire, and are brought in to warren and in service of the king.
And among the rest be built four white elephants, which are
very strange and rare, for there is none other king which
hath the, but he, if any other king hath one, he will send
unto him for it. When any of these white elephants is brought
unto the king, all the great lords in the city are commanded
to see the same and to give him a present of befrid meat, when
soever he be great, so more for that there are many more hands
in the city. After that you have given your present you may
come and see them at your pleasure, although they stand in
the kings house. This king is hostile to all the king of the
white elephants. If any other king have one, he will send
unto him with much warren with him for it, for he had much
lose a great part of his kingdom, then let him conquer him.
They do very great service unto these white elephants, every
one of them standeth in an house garnished with gold, and they
doe receive measures of silver at a gate. One of them when he
doth go to the river to be washed, so every day they be goeth
under a canopy of cloth of gold or of silke carried over him
by six or eight men, and eight or ten men goe before him
playing on drums, shawms, or other instruments, and
when he is washed and cometh out of the river, there is

gentleman which both wash his feet in a silver basin which
 is given him by the king. There is no such account
 of his being kept in a prison, but he is very great. And so it is
 that he would sell a great quantity of his goods
 in India. And they demand that the king should have
 thousand elephants of war. Besides many other things he
 had taken with him. His king hath a very large war in
 he taketh with elephants. His king hath a very large
 from him. He hath a very large court with a great grove
 of wood, and there be many elephants which go out to
 wild rise with the elephants, for without the sun they are
 not to be seen. And they be taken for that purpose, and
 are taken by the king, and they say that they
 are at the side of the king with a great elephant which
 when the wild elephant with small he would have but
 When they have brought the wild elephant more into the
 place they send word to the town and many horsemen
 and footmen come out and cause for some space to enter
 into a great way which doth go to the palace, and the king
 and the king and his wife come out when they see
 the gates of the state. Afterward they set out the female, and
 when they see that the king is left alone, they will have the
 and the king will be with the king, which he will do so strong
 trees that some of them will break their teeth with ripping
 against them. Then they pick him with large axes and
 cause him to go to a great house, and there they put a man
 the place and he will be a great house, and at the end of the
 there are three days without eating or drinking, and then
 they bring a great quantity of water and drink, and when
 the king is well again. The chief force of the king
 is in these elephants. And when they go into the wars they
 set a fence of wood upon their backs, and with great
 clubs with great force, they will be a great house, and
 bows and arrows, darts and other weapons. And they say
 that their skins are so thick that a point of an arrow or
 will scarce pierce them except he is some force or power.
 Their weapons be very break. They have girdles, but about
 very rarely in them. darts and swords short without points.

The king keepeth a very great state when he is with

abroad (as he doth every day twice) all his noble men, which they call *Shenakes*, *Pandipamun*, & other nobles, a good distance off and a good way withal there. The court yard is very great. If any man will speake with the king, he is to kneele downe, to laye up his hands to his head, and to call thus to the great three times, when he cometh in the middle way, and when he cometh next to the king, and then he sitteth downe and talketh with the king. If the king like well of him, he sitteth nexte him within three or foure paces, if he thinke not well of him he sitteth further off. When he goeth to warre, he goeth very strong. At my being there, he went to *Deluy*,¹ in the country of *Siam*, with three hundred thousand men and five hundred elephants. Twenty thousand men were his guard. These people deare hate rats, hares, snakes, dogs, cats, rats, serpents, and snakes, they refuse to stooleing. When the king is that round he rideth within great guard and many noblemen, & cataphraces upon an elephant with a lance upon him very fairely armed with gold, and sometymes upon a great train like an Emperour, which hath a horse upon it covered over head, but open in the sides, which is all gilded with gold, and set with many rubies and sappires, whereof he hath infinite store in his country, & they are carried upon oxen or upon one men's shoulders. There cometh in their language a halloy *Saroon*. Very great fasting and trumping be many times before the king, both of men and women. This king hath little treasure by sea, because he hath but very few ships. He hath houses full of gold and silver, and begeth in often, but spendeth very little, and hath the mines of rubies and sappires, and sardonyes. Next unto the palace of the king, there is a treasure wonderful rich, the which because it is so secret, he doth not account of it, and it standeth open for all men to see, in a great walled court with two gates, which be alwayes open. There are foure houses gilded very richly, and covered with lead, in every one of them are Pagodes or images of huge stature and great value. In the first is the picture (or image)

¹ As is the old capital of *Siam*, situated on an island in the *Mecon*, about sixty miles from the sea.

² *Talanamun*, pronounced *salan*.

of a king in gaud with a crowne of golde on his head full of great rubies and sapphires and about him stand foure children of gaud. In the second house is the picture of a man in silver wonderfull great as high as an house. His footes as long as his hand and he is made sitting with a crowne on his head very rich with stones. In the third house is the picture of a man greater than the other man of brass with a rich crowne on his head. In the fourth and last house doth stand another made of brass greater than the other with a crown also on his head very rich with stones. In another court not farre from this stand foure other Pagodes or idoles, marvellous great of copper, made in a such place where they do stand, for they be so great that they be hard to be removed. They stand in four houses gilded very faire and are themselves gilded all over save their faces and they show like the face of mortall men helow. Their eyes singeing like dragons are wonderful. The king hath one wife and above three hundred concubines by which they say he hath four score or fourscore and forty children. He sitteth in judgement almost every day. They use a speech but give of their supplications written in the leaves of a tree wth the point of an arrow bigger than a book. These leaves be an elle long and about two bre^{ad}th broad, they are ascomen. He which giveth an answer he putteth that answer upon a little distance off with a present. If it shall be liked of the king wth the offer of a present and granteth his request if his wife be not the best he receiveth with his present for the king will not take it.

In India there are few commodities which serve for Pegu except opium of Cathay, painted cloth of S. Thome or of Madagatun and white cloth of Bengala which is spent there in great quantity. They bring thither a so much cotton yarn red coloured with a root which they called Saun, clay, root or Indian powder, which will never use here colour it is very wet soile here and very much of it cometh yearly to Pegu. By your means you have much. The ships which come from Bengala, S. Thome and Mascipatan come to the bay of Nigraia and to Cochin. To Martavan Martabat a port of the sea on the kingdome of Pegu, come many ships from Malacca laden with sundry porcelaines, and other wares of

China and with euphorb of Borneo, and pepper from Achen or Sumatra. To Orizon, a part of Pegu, come ships from Meena with washed cloth, sericets, velvets, apians, and such like. There are in Pegu plenty of brokers whom they call *haraphes*, who have bought here your goods at a low price when they be worth not so goodly here for the most two in the hundred, and they be bound to take your cost good because you sell your merchandise upon their word. If any broker pay you not at his day, you may take his home and keepe him in your house, which is a great shame for him. And if he pay you not presently, you may take his wife and children and his servants, and bind them at your doore, and set them in the stocks for that is the law of the country. Their current money in these parts is a kinde of brass watch they call *ka-mu*,¹ wherewith you may buy golde, silver, rubies, muske, and all other things. The golde and silver is merchandise and is worth sometimes more and sometimes less, as other wares be. This brass money doeth goe by a weight which they call a *ka-zu*,² and commonly this beza after our measure is worth about halfe a crowne or somewhat lesse. The rar commodities which be in Pegu are golde, silver, rubies, sappires, spinelles, muske, benzoin, benzoin, or frankincense, camphire, cane, trade, copper, lava (whereof they make tallow wax), rice, and wine made of rice, and some sugar. The euphorbs doe cure the sugar canes, or els they would rotte very much. And they use wine they make likewise an unguent of four *Varchies*,³ or kinde of cups, which are a great number both great and small. They be made round like a sugar loaf, some are as big as a hand, very broad but thin, some a quarter of a pine in compass, which they be ad cutt down about will show. They containe in these *Varchies* great quantity of golde, for that they be all gilded all over, many of them from the top to the bottome, and every ten or twelve *Varchies* they must be new gilded, because the same cometh

¹ This is a South Indian term for a broker.

² A Malay word meaning best metal, but lead and other base metals were frequently used.

³ From *var*, *var*, and a *visal* a weight of about 3½ lb.

⁴ The name for a pagoda is thought to be from a Malay word meaning an altar.

off the gold for they stand open abroad. If they did not consume their gold in these vanities, it would be very plentiful and good cheape in Pegu.

About two dayes journey from Pegu there is a Vantage or pagode, which is the pagodage of the Pegues. It is called Hogone, and is of a wonderful largnesse, it is a lized from the foot to the top. And there is a house by it where the Talapoies² (which are their priests) doe preach. This house is five and fifty paces in length and hath three pawes³ or walks in it and forty great pillars gilded which stand betwene the walks and it is open on all sides, with a number of small pillars which be likewise gilded. It is gilded with gold within and without. There are houses very faire round about for the pilgrims to be in, and many goodly houses for the Talapoies to preach in, which are full of images both of men and women, which are all gilded over with gold. It is the fairest place as I suppose that is in the world. It standeth very high and there are foure wayes to it, which are all set with trees of fruits in such wise that a man may goe in the shade above two miles in length. And when their feast day is a man can hardly passe by water or by land for the great presse of people. For they come from all places of the kingdome of Pegu thither at their feast. In Pegu they have many Talapoies or priests, which preach against all abuses. Many men resort unto them. When they enter into their keek⁴ that is to say their holy place or temple at the gate there is a great jarre of water with a cocke on a saddle in it, and there they wash their faces, and then they enter in, and sit up their heads to the heads first to the preacher, and then to the sennet, and so sit downe. The Talapoies go very strictly appareled with one carubine (see p. 27) or tunic with next to their body of a browne colour, another of yellow doubled many times upon their shoulder, and those are girded by them with a broad girdle, and they have a skirte of catther hanging on a string about their necks, whereupon

¹ The well known Shwe or Golden Dagon near Rangoon.

² *Talapoy* *Thawpoy* = my lord = a form of address to Buddhist monks.
= monk or nun.

³ *Tawng kyok* = a temple or an object of worship.

they sit bare headed and bare footed, for none of them weareth shoes; with their right armes bare and a great broad sombrero or shadow in their hands to defend them in the summer from the sunne and in the winter from the raine. When the Tallpores or priests take their orders, first they go to schoole untill they be twenty yeres olde or more, and then they come before a Tallpore appointed for that purpose, whom they call Rowla. He is of the chiefeest and most learned, and he opposeth [the] questions [them] and afterward examineth them many times, whether they will leave their friends and the company of all women and take upon them the habit of a Tallpore. If any be content, then he rideth upon an horse about the streets very richly appareled, with drummes and pipes, to shew that he leaveth the riches of the world to be a Tallpore. In few dayes after, he is carried upon a Hingake an horsester which they call a serion, upon ten or twelue mens shoulders in the apparell of a Tallpore, with pipes and drummes and many Tallpores with him, and all his friends, and so they go with him to his house which standeth without the towne and there they leave him. Every one of them hath his house which is very little, set upon six or eight posts, and they go up to them with a ladder of twelue or foureteene staves. Their houses be for the most part by the hie wayes side, and among the trees, and in the woods. And they go with a great pot made of wood or fine earth and covered, tied with a broad girdle upon their shoulder, which cometh under their arme, wherewith they go to begge, but such as wish they eate, whether it bee fish, and herbs. They demand nothing but come to the doore, and the people presently doe give them some one thing, and some another, and they put all together in their pottle, for they say they must eate of their riches, and therewith content themselves. They keepe their feasts by the moone, and when it is new moone they keepe their greatest feast; and then the people send rice and other things to that kiosk or church of which they be, and there all the Tallpores doe meete which be of that churche, and eate the victuals which are sent them. When the Tallpores do preach,

This obscure term is discussed in the *Incaun Autiquary*, vol. xxix, p. 28, and vol. xxxv, p. 268.

many of the people carry their gifts into the pulpit where they sit and preach. And there is one which attracts the people to take that which the people bring. It is divided among them. They have none other occupations nor service that I could see but only preaching.

I went from Pegu to Jamulay,¹ which is in the country of the Langsajones whom we call Lagones. It is five and twenty days journey northwards from Pegu in which journey I passed many fertile and pleasant countries. The country is very low and hath many fair rivers. The houses are very bad made of reeds and covered with straw. There are many white buffaloes, buffaloes, and elephants. Jamulay is a very fair and great town with fair houses of stone well peopled. The streets are very large, the men very well set and strong with a cloth about their loins have mounted and bare footed for most of these countries they wear no shoes. The women be much finer than those of Pegu. There in these countries they have to wheat. They make some cakes &c. Better than Jamulay, some of the merchants out of China at this great store of musk, pepper, silver, and many other things of China work. There is a great store of victuals. They have such plenty that they will not make the bullocks as they do in other places. There is a great store of copper and benzoin. There is a dress which the people be sick they make a vow to offer meat into the devil if they escape, and when they be recovered they make a banquet with many pipes and dances and other instruments and dancing of the king and his friends come and bring gifts, musk, bangles, articles and sweet fruits, and with great dances and songs trying this offer to the devil, and say they give the devil meat and drink and so on. When they be dancing and playing they waltz and ballow very well. At this time they say they drive him away. And when they be sick and lay upon a mat every night, they sit by them and sing to please the devil that he should not hurt them. At this day he is carried upon a

¹ Kien-ma, or Zien-ma, in the north-western part of Siam.

² At this time the people have a relation to the Mahomedan religion, but I observed here none for all the above stated religions were the Portuguese form of Kiang-mat.

great frame made like a tower, with a covering all glazed with gold made of canes, carried with foureteene or sixteen men with drummes and pipes and other instruments playing before him to a place out of the towne and there is burned. He is accompanied with all his friends and neighbours, all men, and they give to the falipoues or priests many mats and cloth, and then they returne to the house and there make a feast for two dayes, and then the wife with all the neighbours wives and her friends go to the place where he was burned, and there they sit a certaine time and cry and gather the pieces of bones which he left and urne and bury them, and then returne to the houses and make an end of all mourning. And the men and women which be neere of kin do shave their heads, which they do not use except it be for the death of a friend, for they much esteeme of their lair.

Caplan¹ is the place where they finde the rubies, sapphires, and spinelles, it standeth sixe dayes journey from Ava in the kingdome of Pegu. There are many great augh mines out of which they digge them. None may go to the pits but onely those which digge them.

In Pegu, and in all the countreys of Ava, Langejures, Sata, and the Bramas,² the men weare bunches or small round bailes in their privy members, some of them weare two and some three. They cut the skin and so put therein one into one side and another into the other side, which they do when they be 25 or 30 yeeres olde, and at their pleasure they take one or more of them out as they thinke good. When they be married the husbands is, for every child which his wife hath to put in one until he come to three and then no more, for they say the women doe desire them. They were invented because they should not abuse the male sexe. For in times past all those countreies were so given to that villany that they were very searse of people. It was also ordained that the women should not have past three curles of cloth in their necker clothes, which they bind about them, which are so

¹ Kyauhsan in the Rangoon district, about seventy five miles NNE of Ava and six miles east of Mogoke.

² Bramas is the Portuguese form of Barma. Fitch uses it both for the country and the people.

street that when they go in the streets, they shew one side of the leg bare above the knee. The burs are asforesayd be of diverse sorts, the least be as big as a little wasenil, and very round, the greatest are as big as a little Lentils egge. Some are of brass and some of silver, but these I have be for the king and his noble men. These are gilded and made with great cunning, and ring like a bell. There are some made of leade, which they call Selwy¹ because they ring like life, and these be of lesser price for the poorer sort. The king sometimes taketh his out, and giveth them to his noblemen as a great gift. At a new ye he hath used them, they esteem them greatly. They will put one on, and leave up the place in seven or eight dayes.²

The Braumes which be of the kings country (for the long & short) have their eyes or beards or some part of their body as they think good themselves, made black with certain things which they have; they use to pride the skins, and to put on it a better colour³ or blacking, which doth continue alwayes. Anointing is counted an honour among them, but none may have it but the Braumes which are of the kings kindred.

These people weare no beards: they pull out the haire on their faces with little pinsons (pinners) made for that purpose. Some of them will let 16 or 20 haire grow together, some in one place of his face and some in another, and pulleth out in the rest. For he carrieth his pinsons alwayes with him to pull the haire out assoone as they appeare. If they see a man with a beard they wonder at him. They have their teeth blacked, both men and women, for they say a dogges with his teeth white, therefore they will blacke theirs.

The Pegues, if they have a wife in the law which is so doubtful that they cannot well determine it, put two long eares into the water where it is very deepe, and both the parties go into the water by the poles and there sit men to judge,

¹ *Tahung selwy*, bell metal, or some other alloy.

² Hakluyt in his edition 1601, of *The Discoveries of the World*, by Antonio de Ulloa, notes that such a custom might be one of those from the English. On the practice see Valerius, *op. cit.*, p. 408 n.

³ *Inaige*, *port.* and from Arabic *an-ni*, pronounced an-ni).

and they not able to dive under the water and be whiel, rema neth longest under the water with wiche the sute

The 10 of January I went from Pegu to Malacca, passing by many of the parts of Pegu as Martavan, the island of Taxi [Taxoy], from whence cometh great store of tinne which serveth all India for the use of Tanasser [Tansersat] Jansoon [Jansoy], and many others and so came to Malacca the 8 of February where the Portugals have a castle which standeth nere the sea. And the countrey fast without the towne belongeth to the Malayos, which is a kinde of proud people. They go naked with a cloth about their waies, and a little roll of cloth about their heads. Hither come many ships from China and from the Maucos, Banda, Timor and from many other places of the Javas, which bring great store of spices and drugs, and diamonds and other jewels. The voyages into many of these places being unto the Captaine of Malacca so that none may goe thither without his licence, which yeeld him great summes of money every yeere. The Portugals here have often times warres with the king of Achem, which standeth in the land of Sumatra, from whence cometh great store of pepper and other spices every yeere to Pegu and Mecca within the Red Sea, and other places.

When the Portugals go from Macao in China to Japan, they carry much white silke, golde, muske, and porcelaines, and they bring from thence nothing but silver. They have a great caracke which goeth thither every yere, and she bringeth from thence every yere above sixe hundred thousand crosses*, and as this silver of Japan, and two hundred thousand crosses more in silver which they bring yeerely out of India, they apply to their great advantage in Camu and they bring from thence golde, muske, sike, copper, porcelaines, and many other things very costly and good. When the Portugals come to Canton in China to traffike, they must remaine there but certaine daies, and when they come in at the gate of the city they must enter their names in a booke and when they goe out at night they must put out their names. They may not leave the towne at night, but must be in their boats with

* A Portuguese gold coin, so called from having a cross upon it.

out the towne. And their dayes being expired, if any man remaine there, they are evilly used and imprisoned. The Chinamox are very suspicious and doe not trust strangers. It is thought that the king doth not know that any strangers come into his country. And further it is commonly reported that the common people see the king very seldom, or not at all, nor may not come up to that place where he dwelleth. And when he cometh abroad he is carried upon a great chair or session gotten very faire, wherein there is made a little house with a lattice to looke out at, so that he may see them, but they may not looke up at him; and all the time that he passeth by them, they heave up their hands to their heads, and lay their heads on the ground, and looke not to see him be passed. The order of Chins is, when they mourne that they were white then shoes and hats, & draw. The man doth mourne for his wife two yeeres. His wife for her husband three yeeres, the sonne for his father a yeere, and for his mother two yeeres. And at the time which they mourne they keepe the dead in the house, the bowels being taken out and filled with chowam (chawm) or hinc, and confined, and when the time is expired they carry them out paying and piping and burne them. And when they returne they pull off their mourning weeds, and marry at their pleasure. A man may keepe as many concubines as he will, but one wife only. At the Chincois, Japonius, and Chinchin Chincois do write right downwards, and they do write with a fine pensill made of dogs or cats haire.

Jambou (Jambou?) is an island among the Javans from whence come the diamonds of this new water. And they find them in the rivers, for the king will not suffer them to digge the rocks.

Jambou¹ is an island among the Javans also, from whence come diamonds. And there keepeth a masse of earth which is golde. It groweth in the middle of a river, and when the king will have golde, they cut part of the earth and melt it, wherein cometh golde. This masse of earth doth appeare but once in a yeere, which is when the water is low, and this is in the month of April.

¹ Jambou, in Sumatra, may be meant, but it is not an island.

Umu¹ is another island among the Javys, where the women travel and labour as our men do in England, and the men keep house and go where they will.

The 20 of March 1588 I returned from Malacca to Martaban, at last to Pegu, where I remained the second time until the 17 of September, and then I went to Cochin, and there took shipping, and passing many dangers by reason of contrary winds it pleased God that we arrived in Bengala in November following, where I stayed for want of passage until the thirde of February 1589, and then I shipped my selfe for Cochin. In which voyage we endured great extremity for lacke of fresh water, for the weather was extreme hote, and we were many marchants and passengers, and we had very many children, at hote weather. Yet it pleased God that we arrived in Ceylon the sixt of March, where we stayed three dayes to water, and to furnish ourselves with other necessary provision. This Ceylon is a brave island, very fruitful and faire, but by reason of continuall warren with the king thereof all things are very dear, for he wil not suffer any thing to be brought to the castle where the Portugals be, wherefore often times they have great want of victuals. Their provision of victuals cometh out of Bengala every yere. The king is called Hama [Hama], and is a great lord, for he cometh to Cananor, which is the place where the Portugals have their fort with an hundred and more men, and many elephants. But they be naked people all of them, yet many of them be good with their speeres, which be muskets. When the king talketh with any man, he standeth upon one egge, and setteth the other foot upon his knee with his sword in his hand; it is not then order for the king to sit but to stand. His apparell is a fine painted cloth made of cotton wooll about his armd, his hair is long and bound up with a white fine cloth about his head; all the rest of his body is naked. His guard are a hundred men, which stand round about him, and be in the middle; and when he marcheth, many of them goe before him, and the rest come after him. They are of the race of the Chergulaves [Sungulaves], which they say are the best kinde of all the Malabars. Their eares are very large. For the greater

¹ Possibly the state of that name in the island of Sumahawa.

They are, the more honourable they are accounted. Some of them are a Spanish dog. The wood which they burn is cinnamon wood, and it smelleth very sweet. There is great store of rice, sugarcanes, and spinneys in this datch, the best kind of all be here, but cock eg will not sell for the inhabitants to dig^g for them, but his natives cannot knowe of them and make warring against him and so drive him out of his country for them. They have no horses in all the country. The elephants be not so great as those of Pegu, which be in another kingdome but they say all other elephants are here, their name datch right with them though they be very small. Their women have a cloth bound about them from the neck to the knee, and all the rest is bare. All of them be blacke and but at a, both men and women. Their houses are very little made of the branches of the palmar or cox tree, and covered with the leaves of the same tree.

The eleventh of May we sailed from Ceylon and sailed the cape of Good hope. Not far from thence between Ceylon and the isle of India Negapatam they fish for pearls. At there is fishery very very much, which doth serve all India, Cambaya and Bengala. It is not so great as the pearls of Bactria in the gulf of Persia. From Cape of Good hope we passed by Cender (Quel) which is the chief of the Portuguese from whence cometh great store of pepper, which is much for Portugal. For oftentimes there bulet some of the captains of Portugal. This passing the coast we arrived in Cochin the 22 of May, where we found the was our warme, but scarcity of victuals, for here groweth neither rice nor rice and the greatest part cometh from Bengala. They have here very bad water, for the river is farre off. This bad water causeth many of the people to be like leprosy, and many of them have their legs swollen as bigg as a man in the waste, and many of them are scant able to go. These people here be Malabars, and of the race of the Natives of Calicut, and every differ much from the other Malabars. These have their heads very full of haire and bound up with a string, and there doth appeare a bush without the haire was when it is bound. The men be tall and strong and good archers with a long bow and a long arrow, which is their best weapon, yet there be

¹ The reference is to Cochinel, or elephantaum.

some calivers [light muskets] among them, but they hurted them badly.

Here groweth the pepper, and it springeth up by a tree or a pole and make one ivy berry, but something larger like the wheat ear, and at the first the bunches are greene, as as they waxe ripe they turne then off and dry to it. The leafe is much lesser than the ivy leafe and thinner. All the country here have very little houses covered with the leaves of the coco tree. The men be of a reasonable stature, the women little, all blacke, with a cloth bound about their middle hanging down to their hammes, all the rest of their bodies be naked. They have not like great cares with many rings set with pearle or stones in them. The king goeth incognito, as they do all. He hath not residence in any place above five or six dayes. He hath many houses, but they be but little, the great ones but small, be removeth from one house to another according to their order. All the pepper of Calicut and Cochin is taken in groweth here in this country. The best cinnamon doth come from Ceylon, and is pulled from the young trees. There are very many palm trees or coco trees, where with is made food, for it is the bread and drinke, and yeldeth many other necessary things, as I have declared before.

The Nairs which be under a kingdom which be Malabars, have always warre with the Portugals. The king hath always peace with them, but his people goe little way to robbe and steale. Their chiefe capitaine is called Cogi Al, he hath three castles under him. When the Portugals come plaine to the king, he sayth he doth not send them out, but he consenteth that they go. They range all the coast from Ceylon to Cochin, and go by foure or five parawes or boats together, and have in every one of them fifty or threescore men, and hoord presently. They do much harme on that coast, and take every yere many foote and boats of the Portugals. Many of these people be Moores. This kings country beginneth twelve leagues from Cochin and reacheth nere unto Goa. I remained in Cochin untill the second of November, which was eight months, for that there was no passage that went away in all that time. If I had come two

* Enneceim = Indian from view or a pier

* Zamorin = was the title of the king of Cochin.

dayes sooner I had found a passage presently. From Cochin I went to Can where I remained three dayes. From Cochin to Can is an hundred leagues. From Can I went to Cannor, which is threescore leagues, where I remained three and twenty dayes, and there making my provision of things necessary for the shipp, from thence I departed to Orissa, where I stayed for a passage. From Cannor to Orissa is four hundred leagues.

Here I thought good, before I make an end of this my booke, to declare some things which from the countrey farther eastward do bring forth.*

The pepper groweth in many parts of India, especially about Cochin, and much of it doth grow in the fields among the bushes without any labour, and when it is ripe they go and gather it. The seede be as like unto our bay tree, and if it did not rub about some tree or pole, it would fall downe away. When they find either it is green, and then they dry it in the sun, and it becometh blacke. The ginger groweth like unto our ginseng, and the root is the ginger. It is to be found in many parts of India. The cloves doe come from the isle of the Molucces, which be divers kinds. Their tree is like to our bay tree. The nutmegs and maces grow together, and come from the isle of Banda. The tree is like to our walnut tree, but somewhat bigger. The white sandal is wood very sweet, and in great request among the Indians, for they grind it with a little water, and anoynt their bodies therewith. It cometh from the isle of Timor. Camphers is a tree, as thing among the Indians, and is sold cheaper than gold. I thinke none of it cometh for Christendome. That which is compounded cometh from China, but that which groweth in canes, and is the best cometh from the great isle of Borneo. Lignum aloes cometh from Canluchina. The benzoin cometh out of the countreys of Siam and Jangones. The long pepper groweth in Bengala, in Pegu, and in the parts of the Indes. The muske cometh out of Tartarie, and is made after this order, by report of the merchants which bring it to Pegu to sell. In Tartarie there is a little beast like unto a yong roe, which they take in snares, and beat him to death with the blood, after that they cut out the bones, and beat

* This section is largely copied from Feuillel.

the flesh with the blood very small, and fill the skin with it, and hereof cometh the muske. Of the amber [ambergris?] they make divers ornaments, but most thin say it cometh out of the sea, and that they find it upon the shore side. The rubies, sapphires and ~~spinelles~~ are found in Pegu. The diamond are found in divers places, as in Brongor, in Agria, in Delta,² and in the islands of the Laves. The best pearls come from the island of Bazarin, in the Persian sea, the worst from the Persian³ ~~islands~~ the isle of Ceylon, and from Aynam [the name of a great island on the south-west coast of China]. Spodium⁴ and many other kinds of drugs come from Cathay.

Now to return to my voyage. From Ormuz I went to Baburn or Basora, and from Basora to Babylon, and we passed the most part of the way by the strength of river by leading the boat by the river with a long cord. From Babylon I came by land to Mosul, which standeth next to Nineveh, which is still ruined and destroyed. I standeth fast by the river of Tigris. From Mosul I went to Merhan, which is in the country of the Armenians, but now there dwelleth that place a people which they call Coras, or Curdi [Kurds]. From Merhan [Muran] I went to Orfa, which is a very late town, and it hath a goodly fortification full of shot, where the Moors hold many great ceremonies and opinions concerning Abraham, for they say he died once twice there. From thence I went to Rie, and so passed the river of Euphrates. From Rie I went to Aleppo, where I stayed certain months for company, and then I went to Tripoli, where finding English shipmen I came with a prosperous voyage to London, where by Gods assistance I safely arrived the 29 of April 1581, having bene eight years out of my native country.

V. Amongst the great Hindu Kingdom which once covered the whole of the eastern portion of the East of the known

² Beveridge says that a certain kind of diamond comes from India, but not from here, and indeed was told at Agria that the best ones are grown in the country itself. (Journal p. 144). There seems to be no foundation for this statement.

³ The Portuguese term for the pearl fishery on the coast of Timorely, near the island of Solor.

⁴ This seems to mean *adu-shir*, a substance found in the stems of bamboo and in the husk of Indian rice, a specimen, Federici in Hakluyt's translation calls it 'the spectrum which congeal in certain times'.

1599-1606

JOHN MILDENHALL

NEARLY twenty years after the visit of Ralph Fitch and his companions to the court of the Great Mogul, another Englishman presented himself there, craving privileges of trade on behalf of himself and his fellow-countrymen. This was John Mildenhall or Melindal, whose experiences are narrated in the two documents printed below, the first of which is a summary of his journey from London to Kasulabar, while the second is a letter addressed to the Richard Napier already mentioned, giving an account of his transactions in India and of his return journey as far as Kazvin in Persia.

Of Mildenhall's previous career practically nothing is known, except that like Fitch, he was a trader in the Levant. From his letter to Napier and subsequent references in the Court Minutes of the East India Company it may be inferred that he was at one time in the service of that corporation, perhaps appointed to him in the first instance. That in making his present venture he had no special mission least of all from Queen Elizabeth (as has been often asserted), is evident enough from his own narrative. A voyage to India in order to best to play the part of a messenger from his sovereign, this was clearly a mere pretext for the purpose of gaining more easily the necessities he was seeking, while the fact that he spent six months at Constantinople engaged in trade took three years over his journey from Aleppo to Lahore and was equally lengthy over his return to England is a further proof that he made the expedition for his own ends. Moreover we learn from a document in the British Museum (classroom MSS., no. 941 ff. 77, 78) that in March 1600 Mildenhall was undertaking a venture to Cairo, but then changed his plans and decided to go to Aleppo. This suggests that his journey to India was in afterthought prompted perhaps by an receipt at Constantinople of the news of the account taken in the autumn of 1599 by the new East India Company in London. Though this scheme had failed for the moment owing to the unwillingness of Queen Elizabeth to jeopardize the success of the negotiations then in foot for peace with Spain, there was every probability that it would become ere long an established fact and if Mildenhall could not then secure a grant of trading privileges in India, he might expect a handsome reward for his pains.

On the details of his outward journey and his experiences in India itself we need not linger. A point of some interest is the question how long he stayed in the country. Of his arrival here I know only that it was in the year 1603, while at the date of his departure he says nothing, though it may be inferred that he had left India territorially some time before the death of Akbar in October 1605, since he makes no mention of that important event. A little light is thrown upon the question by a letter from Father Jeronimo Xavier written from Agra on September 6, 1604, in which he refers to an unnamed English here, a doubtless Mirdnahi who had encouraged a discontented Portuguese to make accusations against the Fathers in the presence of the Englishman's object being to bring them into discredit and thus facilitate the grant of permission to his fellow-countrymen to frequent the Mogul's ports. Nevertheless, as the Englishman behaved badly but was disappointed, although he had spent two years in securing the grant. This would not be consistent even once with any accident that in the spring of 1603 for Mirdnahi's survival; while the time of his departure may be guessed at the summer of 1605, this making the period of his stay a little over two years. We may recall that when Robert Thwait, one of the survivors of the *Isaacson* (see p. 86) left Agra in January 1611, Father Xavier gave him his letters of commendation and to one John Mirdnahi an English merchant or factor who had been in India three years. — *see my speaking of course.*

It may appear surprising that he should have remained so long, considering that according to his own account the Emperor granted at once all his demands except that for permission to attack Portuguese ships and strongholds. The probability is that this was not exactly what Mirdnahi received. So long as England was at war with Spain and Portugal, a mere permission for English merchant ships to visit the ports of the Great Mogul may well have appeared useless, unless the Emperor could be induced to go further and to veto any interference with him on the part of the Portuguese. If this was what Mirdnahi really sought it is easy to understand why he attacked so much importance to the port and why he remained so long in order to carry it. Whatever the exact nature of his feud was it arrayed against him not only the Jesuit missionaries at court, whose

* See an excellent article by Sir Edward Maclagan on *Letters of Missions to the Emperor Akbar* in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* vol. ix, part 1, also Father Houten's article in the *Memories of the same Society*, vol. v, no. 4, p. 174.

* I conclude that he was unable to deliver the letter because by the time he reached Encke April, 1611, Mirdnahi had started on his second expedition.

influence was considerable, but also Akbar's principal advisers. The suspension of the latter may well have been due to an unwillingness to risk a breach with the Portuguese, of whose power the courtiers were fully conscious, but Akbar's acts it is partly to or very on the part of the courtiers and partly to an acceptance of the contention that the real object of the English was to capture some of the Indian ports. He responded himself triumphantly refuting this charge and overruling the scruples of the Emperor by undertaking that his sovereign would send an ambassador with rich presents to reside at the imperial court, where he would be in effect a hostage for the good behaviour of his fellow countrymen. Thereupon, we are told, his demands were granted in full.

Passing over his letter from Kazan in which these events were related, we next hear of our sovereign's attitude in regard to the "Company's" directors of the East India Company, told on June 21, 1608 letters were read addressed by him to Mr. Scoper enumerating the privileges he had obtained and acknowledging his own services, in return for a payment of £100. Exactly he had not yet reached England for it was decided to address the consideration of his request until he arrived either in that country or the North Sea. In May, 1609 the matter was again brought forward and was referred to a special committee, though at the same time it was decided to be personally and be a chief and Thomas might be employed except in a rare factor. In any case, these matters were considered to be of such value, when the Company had a further meeting for decision to purchase them on extravagant terms, measures which were expected to receive at any moment the sanction of the mission of William Hawkins, who had been despatched in summer 1607 with others from King James to the Great Mogul. However, Middelburg had nothing to say to his how. Towards the end of July 1609 the Company came with some claim that it had presented a petition to the King declaring that it had spent 10 years in travel and had obtained at a cost of three thousand pounds (£3000) a monopoly of trade in the dominions of the Great Mogul, at a paying that as the East India Company would pay nothing to take advantage of a convenient and perpetual to enjoy the said privilege. This petition had been referred by the Lord Treasurer to Sir Walter Cope and three merchants of whom at least two were friends of Middelburg. The Company at once appointed four representatives to confer with the referees, and apparently not in course of the petition. A few months later there was some idea of the Company sending Middelburg to the East as a factor but on November 18, 1609 it was decided that it was "for divers



MILDENHALL'S TOMB

respectable - not fitting to be employed in the service of the Company.

For the rest, M. H. Hall's career we have to understand chiefly on references in the correspondence of the Company's factors in India, when we go to *Letter Received* Nos. 100 and 101, and A. N. Kerridge's letter book in the British Museum. Additional MSS., no. 1060, &c. From these we learn that some time before April 1611 he made a second expedition to the East, carrying with him a quantity of goods belonging to Staper and other merchants, valued at 1000 for sale in Persia. M. H. Hall is stated to have betrayed his trust, and to have fled with the goods intending to make his way over again to Java. Two Englishmen, named Richard Steel and Richard Newmann, were sent in pursuit. They overtook the fugitive near the confines of Persia, and forced him to return with them to Ispahan, where he surrendered goods and money to the value of 50,000 and received a full discharge. Being now free, he resigned his post, and sold at Ispahan, who had carried with Newmann, undertook to bear him company. At Ispahan, M. H. Hall, Steel, and Newmann went in state to the court of the Emperor then at Agher, in Rohilma. By slow stages M. H. Hall reached Agra, where he proceeded to Agra, arriving in that town early in April 1614.

He was still very sick. Purchas's *Pilgrimage* ed. 1620, p. 528, says that he had learned (it is reported) the art of poisoning, by which he made away three other Englishmen in Persia, to make himself master of the whole stock. But I know not by what means himself tasted of the same cup, and was exceedingly sweetened, but continued his life many months with agonies. The story was incessantly raised upon Wallingford's assertions, given later in the present volume's scarcely a likely one. M. H. Hall's illness was probably due to malarial causes. However, after lingering some time he died in Jan. 1614. As he belonged to the old faith, his body was conveyed to Agra and interred in the Roman Catholic cemetery there. The tombstone marking the spot was discovered in 1900 by Mr. E. A. H. Bleby, who has prefixed a photograph of it to his *Christian Tomba and Monuments in the United Provinces*. It is in good preservation, and the following inscription in Portuguese is so plainly legible: *João de Mendonça Inglês, morto dia 15 de Junho 1614*. One may say with confidence that it is the oldest English monument in India, and a tablet with an English inscription has now been placed upon it by the orders of the local government.

Just before his death M. H. Hall had a will leaving his property to two children he had had in Persia by a Indian woman during his first expedition. As executor he appointed a Frenchman named Augustin who had accompanied him in

master, which carried a present to the Grand Seigneur in the same voyage. The seventh and twentieth of April 1599, we arrived at Zante, where I freighted a *saten* [ital. *sachin*, a swift sailing vessel] and went into the island of Cio [Scio], from thence to Smyrna, and from thence to Constantinople where I arrived the nine and twentieth of October, 1599; and then I staid about my entertainment till the first of May 1600, Sir Henry Lillo being then Ambassador, upon which day I passed from Constantinople to Scanderone (Iskanderun, now Alexandretta) in Asia, where, in company of a *chaus*² and some sixe other Turkes, I took my voyage for Aleppo overland and arrived in Aleppo the nine and twentieth day of the said May in safetie without any trouble or molestacion by the way and there abode two and fortie dayes, And on the first Master Richard (Coul) rose for Canisli. And the seventh of July, 1600. I departed from Aleppo in company with many other nations, as Armenians, Persians, Turkes and divers others, to the number of sixe hundred people in our caravan, and one of English Master John Cartwright, Provost, from whence we went to Bit, which is within three dayes journey and staid upon the edge of the river Euphrates, from thence we went to Ura, which is five dayes journey, which we found very hot. From thence we went to Caracul (Diarbekr), which is foure dayes journey. From thence to Bitch, a city under the government of a nation called the Comukes (Kurds) yet under the subjection of Constantinople, which is seven dayes journey, and from thence to Van which is three dayes journey from Bitch, a city of great strength, and by the side of the castle is a great lake of salt water, navigable and is in compass the dayes journey about, which I my self have rowed round about. And once a yeere, at the coming down of the snow waters from the mountanes

¹ The Sultan of Turkey. The vessel was an organ built by Thomas Dabney, who was sent in charge of it. See his journal, published by the Hakluyt Society in 1883.

² Turkish *chawsh*, a minor official employed in a variety of ways, such as taking charge of a caravan.

³ In 1611 Cartwright published an account of his experiences under the title of *The Pervener to Travels*. See also Purchas His Pilgrimes, part, lib. ix. cap. 4.

there is abundance of fish, which come of themselves to one end of the lake : which I may compare to our herring-bide at Vermont, where the country people doe resort from divers places and catch the said fish in great abundance which they salt and dry and keepe from all the yeare for their food, the fish are as big as pilcherds. From thence we went to Naeshan,¹ which is nine dayes journey ; and from Naeshan to Claidfal, which is halfe a dayes journey, and there we stayed eightene dayes. From thence we went to Sultanah [Sultarah] and from thence to Casbia [Kazya] in Persia, which is fifteene dayes journey, and there we staid thirty dayes. From thence to Gen [Kum], which is three dayes journey, from thence we went to Kushan [Kusum] which was seven dayes journey. From thence Master Cartwright departed from us and went to Spandoun [Spandan], the chiefe citie in Persia. From Kushan to Yesh which is tenne dayes journey. From thence I went to Carma [Kerman], which is tenne dayes journey, and from thence to Sigistan² which is foureteene dayes journey, and from thence to Candahar, which is also foureteene dayes journey.

II

CARRIE The third day of October 1606

Worshipfull Sir my duty remembreth. Not having any other of more moment love then your selfe I have thought good to remember the many good services received, and partly to requite them with the first newes of the success of this my voyage unto the court of the Great King of Mogor and Candahar.

May arryval in Lahore the _____ of _____ 1603. I dispatched a poste for the Kings court with my letters to His Majestic that I might have his free leave to come unto him and treat of such business as I had to doe with him from my Prince, who forthwith answered my letters and wrote to the Governour of Lahore to see mee with all honour and curtesie and to send a guard of horse and foote with me to accompanie me

¹ Naeshan, an ancient town in Fervah valley, Mendenhall's next stopping place, at about twenty-six miles farther south, where the road to Tabriz crosses the Aras river.

² Sigistan, the old name of Sistun in Eastern Persia.

to Agra, where his court was, being one and twenty dayes journey from Lahore. And being there arriv'd I was very wel met and an house with all things necessarie was appointed for mee by the King, where reposing my selfe two dayes the third day I had audience and presented His Majestie with nine and twentieth great horses, very faire and good such as were hardly found better in these parts, some of them cost me fiftie or arescore pounds in horse, with diverse jewells, rings, and earrings to us given. And so I was dismissed with his great favour and content.

The third day after having made before a great man my friend he carried me into his Court, and consulting wth his presence he remanded of me what I would have and want my businesse was. I made him answer that his greatnesse and remembrance of his kindnesse unto Christians was so much blased through the world that it was come into the furthermost parts of the western ocean and arrived at the eare of our Queene of England's Most Excellent Majestie, who desired to have friendship with him and as the Portugals and other Christians had trade with His Majestie so his subjects also might have the same with the like favours, and farther because there have been long warres betwene Her Majestie and the King of Portugal that if any of their ships or portes were taken by our nation that he would not take it in evil part, but rather as to enjoy them to the use of our Queenes Majestie. Which the King commanded to be written down by his secretaries afterwards, but in short space he would give me answer. With that I withdrew my selfe (with leave) and went to my lodging. Within eight or ten dayes after he sent me home in the way but he gave me five hundred pound sterling the first time with very comfortable speeches. Shortly after as I was intended he sent to certain Jesuites who lived there in great honour and credit, two in Agra and two others in Lahore, and showed them my demands, wth that the Jesuites were in an exceeding great rage, and whereas before we were friends now we grew to be exceeding great enemies. And the King asking

¹ The two at Agra were Jerome Xavier and Anthony Machado, while those at Lahore were Manoel Pires and Francisco Lopez, see also Leuzsteiner, *Mughal's African Agency mentioned*.

their opinion in this matter they finally answered him that our nation were all thieves and that I was a spy, and that for no other purpose to have friendship with His Majesty but that afterwards our men might come thither and get some of his pearls and so put His Majesty to much trouble saving without that they had eleven years served His Majesty and were bound by their friend and said that they had eaten to speak the truth and upon it were against Christians. With these and many more such speeches the King and his Council were all that against me and my reasons, but made no show thereof to me in any respect but I knew it by friends which I had in the court. Afterward they caused five commissioners to be drawn and sent to the sea, with all things that I had written saying they had left out the taking of the ships and the ports of the Portugals, which when I had read, I presently went to the court and made demand of the other articles. The King answered that hee would againe speak with his Council and make answer.

In this manner ended my business, and every day I went to the court and in every eighteene or twentie dayes I put up Ave (Hind art) petitions, and still he put mee off with good words and promised that this way and for evermore I should have them. In this manner seeing my side decayed, and being at exceeding great expence of eightene or twentie servants (horsemen and foot), I wrote new request from going to the court, so much that in thirte dayes I went not. At length the King, remembering me sent to call for me. At my coming he asked the cause why I came not as I was wont, I answered that I had come into his country only upon the great reward of his excellencie and had wasted sixe yeeres in travails and could not otherwise serve him as he could command at his hands which was woe for his profit and nothing for his service; adding that if I had a keener and greater reward of his grace would have more have delayed me. Whereat he presently called for garments for me of the Turkish fashion very rich and good, and would hee not be heard, because every thing that I would have sought be accomplished I am now content.

So with these sweet words I passed sixe monthes more.

And then seeing nothing accomplished, I was exceeding
 weary of my lagging and could do nothing, and the rather
 for that I was out of money. I should have occurred before
 how the Jesuits day and night sought how to work my mis-
 pleasure. First they had given to the two chief Counsellors
 that the King had at the most five hundred pounds sterling
 a piece that they should not in any wise consent to their
 demands of money so that, when I came to present them,
 they would not accept of any thing at my hands although I
 offered them very largely and where I had any thing to
 they would by all means seek to spite me. And God ever
 kept me in good reputation with all men. Moreover whereas
 I had hired a Yappo an Arabian named Sellar [Salar] to
 whom I gave twelve ducats the month was served me
 very well for mine interpreter five years, now when he
 came to the point of his special business the Jesuits
 were wrought with him also in such sort that he quarrelled
 with me and went his way, whereby I was destitute of a
 draughtman and my self could speake either nothing. Now
 in what case I was in I was beside mine wits without friends,
 money, an interpreter without any place. Yet afterward
 I got a second answer and in my home day and night I so
 studied the Persian tongue that in six months space I could
 speake it something reasonably. Then I went a great dis-
 contentment to the King and gave him to understand how
 the Jesuits had dealt with me in all points and desired His
 Majesty's licence I might for mine own comfort, where I
 might have redress for mine grieves received, and without
 any man how small it would stand with so great a Prince
 as His Majesty had report to be belayed so many
 years only upon the reports of two Jesuits, who I would
 prove were not his friends nor cared not for his profit nor
 comfort and desired a day of hearing, which how I myself
 could make plain unto His Majesty (which for want of a
 draughtman before I could not doe) the great officers of these
 Jesuits in that his court beseeching you to be so good to
 grant mee licence to depart, and that I might not be kept
 any longer with delayes. At these words the King was moved

Arabic name (an interpreter, whence? Huguenot)

against the Jesuites, and promised that upon the Sunday following I should bee heard, and that the Jesuites should be present.

This speech I had with the King upon the Wednesday Comming before the place of Councell the Sunday following, there were met all the great States of the court to heare the controversie betweene us. At the first the King called me and demanded what injuries I had received of the Jesuites. I answered that they had abused my Prince and country, most falsely calling us all infidels, and if they had beene of another sort and calling, I would have made them eat their words, or I would have lost my life in the quarrell. Secondly, in saying that under colour of warre and so wee would invade your country and take some of your forts and put Your Majestie to great trouble. Now, that Your Majestie may understand the naturall of these mens false suggestions, know you all that Her Majestie hath her ambassadours sencer in Constantinople, and evere three yeeres most commonly doth send a new and call home the old, and at the first comming of every ambassadour sendeth not tenn emptie but with a great and princely present, according whereunto Her Highnesse intent is to deale with Your Majestie. This profit of such presents and honour like to redound to Your Majestie by having league of amitie and enteraignes with Christian Princes, and to have their ambassadours leigers in your court, these men by their craftie practices would deprive you of. And our ambassadours being resident as pledges in your court what have any of our nation doe against Your Highnesse or any of your subjects? Upon these and other such like speeches of mine, the King turned to his nobles and said that all that I said was reason, and so they all answered. After this I demanded of the Jesuites before the King. In these twelve yeeres space that you have served the King how many ambassadours and how many presents have you procured to the benefit of His Majestie? Will the Kings eldest sonne stand out and said unto them (marking them) that it was most true that in a eleven or twelve yeeres not one came, either upon ambassage or upon any other profit unto His

² Prince Salim, afterwards the Emperor Jahangir

Majestic Hereupon the King was very merrie and laughed at the Jesuites, not having one word to answer. Then I said, If it please Your Majesty, I will not onely procure an Ambassadour but also a present at my safe returne againe unto your countrey. Divers other demands and questions were at that time propounded by the King and his nobles unto me, and I answered them all in such sort as the King called his Vice-Roy (which before was by the Jesuites bribes made my great enemy) and commanding [sic] him that whatsoever priviledges or commandements I would have hee should presently write them, seale them, and give them me without any tarrying or delay or question. And so within foure dayes after I had them signed to my owne contentment and (as I hope) to the profit of my nation. Afterwardes I went and presented them unto the Prince his eldest sonne and demanded of him the like commandements which he most willingly granted and shortly after were delivered unto me. And so departing from the court, I brought them with me into Persia, which are here in Cashin with my selfe, readye to doe you any service. And I would have come my selfe when I wrote this letter, save that there were two Italian marchants in Agra³ that knew of all my proceedings; whom I doubted (as I had good cause) lest they would doe mee some harme in Bagdct or some other places, they a wayes being enemies to our nation, that they should find any new trade this way, as to you it is well knowne. And within foure moneths I meane to depart by the way of Moscovia, where arriving, I will not faile but satisfie you at large of all matters.

Mr. Vincent Smith (*Akbar*, p. 293) suggests that this was Aziz Koka Khān Azam.

³ Sir E. Macleagan thinks that one of these was João Baptista Vechete,

WILLIAM HAWKINS

At the time of the establishment of the East India Company (1600) and for the next few years, England was at war with the united kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, and it was argued for this reason that the success of the First and Second Voyages made no attempt to visit the coasts of India itself where the Portuguese were known to be of strong force, but went instead to the ports of Japan, Sumatra, and the Far East. By the time, however, that a Third Voyage was under preparation, hostilities had been terminated by the Treaty of London (August 1604), and there was some hope that the Portuguese would not offer a live opposition to the extension of English trade to the north of the Great Mogul. Now that the negotiations preceding the treaty had afforded much ground for confidence in this respect. The Spanish commissioners had, in fact, pressed hard for a recognition of the legitimacy of English trade in the Indies, both East and West, but the utmost that the English negotiators were able to extract was that commerce with places not already occupied by King Philip's subjects should be forbidden, provided that no attacks were made to extend the largest free trading with independent countries. This proposal, leaving unscrupulous traders were left as before, but would subject no one named in the treaty.

Consequently, as to the proof the intentions of the Portuguese, the Committees of the East India Company were largely influenced by the consideration that the markets of the Far East afforded little opening for English goods, which might, however, and really sold in Brazil, India, and in Africa, in part frequently by licensed traders. The latter seemed a safer alternative, as offering less opportunity of justification for Portuguese interference. When therefore the instructions for the Third Voyage were drafted in March 1607, it was laid down that the fleet should make the first attempt for the island of Sumatra, to procure assistance and obtain the services of a pilot. Then if the season permitted a visit was to be paid to Achen, to see whether the coast could be opened up there for a factory establishment. If a sufficient cargo could be obtained, the *Hector* was to be sent home direct, while the

* For these, and the royal commission for the venture, see *The First Letter Book*, pp. 111, 114.

other two vessels were to proceed to Bantam, ending, if time permitted, on the coast of Guyana to discover the possibility of a navigation of a trade to the Americas. After a brief look at the dangers of the Portuguese, rather than an endeavour to discover whether the King of Camero or Senegal, any of which has been subject to the Portuguese, or what has been of a secret, it should prove, however, that the mission would be a part of the fleet going to Aden. All three ships were to report to the Gujarat coast, there if such a course appeared safe, the *Hector* and the *Consent* were to be left to open up trade for which purpose a letter was provided from living letters to the Great Mogul, something the grant of such letters of trade was a privilege as should be reasonable both for the secret and profit. In the event of a favourable reception, no ship was to remain at Surat to bid a cure for England, while the other was to proceed to Aden to carry out our original plan. In an case, the *Dragon* to (being) part of the General's or commander of the fleet. William Hawkins was to go on to Bantam as soon as possible.

The Merchant General of the fleet and captain of the *Hector* (now known by the way Mr. John Hawkins, who sailed to the Levant in 1599) was William Hawkins, whose narrative we are now considering. Of his previous history we know what two facts first, that he had been in the West Indies, at secondly, that he had spent some time in the Levant, also was well acquainted with Turkey. The first of these was fact, may have been Mr. Noel Sancho's reason for sending him to the Levant, as *Calendar of State Papers, East India*, 1513-1616. The possibility of a ship with Dr. W. Hawkins who was a representative of the fact, as Sir John Hawkins had acted as second in command in England's abortive expedition of 1592-4, a conjecture adopted as a certainty by Sir Charles Markham in his work on *The Hawkins' Voyages*. In reality, as noted by Sir John Eliot in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, is what little evidence exists points rather to the other way, and the fact is a fact, a story of which we can be sure is true, and a brother Charles. Possibly the general impression that Hawkins was a sailor by profession, a bluff sea-captain, as our narrative writer has been arguments for the very acceptance of this story. Such, of course, was not the case. The position of our commander of a vessel in those days, it is not necessary to apply an exact knowledge of a fact, that was the mistress of the water, and the element, he based thereon. In all probability Hawkins had been a Levant merchant, like so many of the East India Company's servants at this time. In fact, it was his acquaintance with the Turkish language and his experience of Eastern ways that procured him his employment in the present

expedition for he was expressly designated as the person who was to deliver the royal letters to the Governor of Aken at (if available for he might be going home direct from Aken with his ship) to the Great Mogul, and to take charge of the representatives in either case. In order to be ready to appear with becoming splendour he was crammed with such costly and valuable presents with affluence of shroffs and with silver lace, while the whole presents of the king broadcastly to the value of £1000 were provided with a stipulation that anything received in return was to be considered the property of the Company.

The voyage started on their voyage early in March 1607. The *Content* quickly lost company and was rejected. The other was met with bad luck winds near the equator and were forced to seek ship 100 at Sierra Leone where the result that they did not reach Tular Bay and the bridge of December. Their next port of call was St. Augustine Bay, Madagascar, whence they proceeded to Sokotra arriving there in April 1608 more than a year from the commencement of the voyage. An attempt to get to Aken was foiled by contrary winds and it was then ordered that the *Dragon* should proceed direct to Bandanah while the *Heifer* (with a primary which had been put together at Sokotra) should make the venture to Surat. Hawkins sailed accordingly on June 24, and Hawkins departed on August 4. His vessel—the first to display the British flag on the coast of India—anchored at the entrance to the Tapi River on August 24.

Surat, situated on the left bank of that river about 14 miles from its mouth, was now one of the chief ports of India and the centre of trade with the Red Sea. The harbour of Surat, north of the island of Quadray was fast silting up, and sea-going ships of any size could no longer land there, but had to anchor, being guided from lighters at Lougha, on the opposite side of the tidal

* For these letters see *The First Letter Book*, pp. 105, 106. The one intended for the Great Mogul was addressed to the Emperor Akbar by the name of the first ship he had been dead for some time.

One can get the two versions of this voyage, by keeping read French copies only. Sir Christopher Marichani in his *Logique of Sir James Lancaster*, etc., has summarized three manuscripts now in the Bodleian, one of which is now abstract of Hawkins' journal and besides these three the Bodleian possesses two fragments, one being the end of Hawkins' journal and the other a part of it which is kept in London. The Bodleian Museum has two more copies of the original journal kept by Anthony Marlow (*Thomas Hawkins*, 1579) and went some to a copy (possibly by Hawkins) of Hawkins' journal as far as Surat. *Journal* 2100. The latter has been printed in *The Hawkins Logique*.

of Camboya. Surat possessed the former advantage, for the vessels were going to it were spared the voyage up that dangerous gulf, which was filled of sandbanks, and on the other hand, the daily roadstead was closed for ships of any size was the exposed anchorage outside the bar at the mouth of the river, and this was usually nearly during the period of fair weather. For various purposes of convenience the control of the trade of Makarrab (Kaly) was now placed in charge of the port of Cambay. The customs of Cambay went directly to the royal treasury. This official was a great favourite with the reigning Emperor Jahangir (the son of Akbar, whom he had succeeded in 1605), having won his regard by his skill in surgery, and by his usefulness in the dispatch to which that monarch was so much addicted. To the esteem of Muhammad Khan took care to maintain by sending out and presenting curiosities of all sorts, and it was doubtless for such purposes that he had obtained charge of the Cambay ports, where the trade carried on with the Portuguese gave him many opportunities of acquiring riches of every description. In these circumstances the arrival of a ship belonging to an unknown European nation was naturally of great interest to him, and he quickly dispatched his brother to Surat to examine the cargo, himself following a little later. In the meantime Hawkins prepared for the farther voyage of the *Hector* by buying goods suitable for Bandana, much to the annoyance of the Surat merchants trading to those parts, who feared the competition of the new comers. Hawkins himself had decided to remain behind and proceed to Agra with King James's letters, so he landed over the command of the ship to Anthony Marlow, one of the merchants who had come with him, and sent him down the river with the goods in two boats manned by about thirty men. On their way they were attacked by some Portuguese frigates, and many of their number with all the goods were captured. Hawkins at once demanded their restoration but was answered only with insults and a declaration that the booty was being sent exclusively to Portugal. The captives were sent to Goa and thence to Lisbon, while the treasure was reloaded. On October 5 the *Hector* departed for Bombay leaving Hawkins with only William Kent and two Chinese servants.

Two days earlier Muhammad Khan was reaching Surat. He was at first extremely generous to Hawkins, but once he had got into his possession all the goods he specially coveted, his behaviour changed. He dared not prevent the Englishmen from going to Agra, since he afterwards claimed without any authority to be an ambassador and undoubtedly had

Portuguese and other armed man-of-war vessels fitted to sail for row. The Portuguese regularly sent a *galley* (commonly a *brig* or *caravel*) of such vessels from Goa to Cambay to see and buy goods.

and Elizabeth who were on board the *Trade's Increase* which after having agreed that John (by subscription) should liberate the slaves before Christmas. There they found the *Hecla*, the *Seymour*, and the *Thomson*, all preparing to start for the Indies. Hawkins and Elizabeth were embarked on the last named, and the vessel sailed on January 18th. The *Hecla* and *Thomson* returned to Cape of Good Hope in April and after a month's rest the voyage was resumed in the 2nd of May. Next day the two vessels met again, and of the rest of the voyage we know but little. The *Seymour* took on board the *Thomson* with her full complement of the crew, which amounted to 110. Vessel was in danger of being captured by certain Newfangled men, probably rebellious, who attempted by force to take her, but a ship was sent to meet her, and the danger was averted, with the appearance of the *Pearl* in the offing, the vessel returned to the East. Her captain not only rescued the *Thomson* from the danger that threatened her, but also supplied her with much needed provisions. With this assistance she staggered on to Arrive at Bombay in the month of 1803. But Hawkins did not see her arrive, and the crew was left to return to the first voyage to be returned home. *Puana's History* p. 541. What we exactly write the history of we are not told.

His wife was on board the *Thomson*. His mother, the late Mrs. Hawkins's property was reputed to have been valuable jewels, and the crew and especially had a story of making to her some of the money in 1814 to Captain Tower, who had been on board the *Hecla* in the first voyage. There was some connection with the East India Company over the settlement of Hawkins's affairs. For Captain Tower, who was a member of the Company, had a heavy charge for the cargo of goods, and the Company was to pay him 100,000 and so on, and that the cargo was to be sold for 1200 a year up to the day of his death, which was 1800, for the expense of bringing his property down to be sold there, the Company had a balance due from his estate of 1000. However, the Company considering that the widow was a stranger, and not a member of the Company, her right to have a share in the cargo was not recognized. She was in India in a private capacity, and the Company was not bound to pay her. The Company by the act of her relatives, from the death of Sir Thomas Row (who was much vexed by their vexation) with the fact that these jewels were deposited. Tower had been retained to India, and with her a companion in 1813, having his wife with her friends at Agra, where a couple of

years later, we find her pestering the Company's factotum for a passport. Her second husband had evidently turned a deaf ear of rejecting her, for in 1629 he obtained employment from the Company as a principal factor for the Moheenas. Three years later, while holding this post, he was put to death by the Dutch in what is termed 'the Massacre of Ambonina'.

The narrative here referred from *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (part 1, book 2, chap. 7) represents Hawkins's own report to the East India Company. The reverend gentleman tells us, in his companion work the *Pilgrimage* (p. 570), that the traveller's 'booke or large paper all written by himselfe, was con- vained to me by the Right Worshipfull sir Thomas Smith' (the Governor of the Company), and elsewhere he describes it as 'written at sea leasure, very scholasticke, in a hand freed some of paper'. This is not Purcell's school-free, omitting as it frankly tells us 'many advices of the most honourable forts, I had factories, &c.' which he regarded 'as not so fitting, eye y^e eye'. Unfortunately the manuscript is no longer extant and we are unable therefore to assess the value of what was this exercise.

Hawkins's story should be read in conjunction with the narrative of William Finch, which supplements it in many ways. It is a characterist product and gives a valuable insight into a writer, an explorer and researcher, but somewhat arrogant and blustering. Upon his entire tenure he made an impression not altogether favourable. Finch, quarrelled with him, despised, as we have seen, gives rather a hostile account of his behaviour and admitted that his promises weary a little of it. For it was very likely that his resolution 'is also in a little decay' (*Journal*, p. 162), and though he did not know him personally wrote of him 'for Hawkins I fynd not a vayne boole' (British Museum, Add. MSS., no. 617 f. 118). But, at all events, we owe to him a most valuable account of the Court of the Emperor Jahangir, second only to that given by Holmwood. While his picturesque account of his adventures has an interest which is all its own.

At my arrival unto the bar of Surat being the foure and twent of August 1608, I presently sent unto Surat Francis Bock merchant with two others, to make knowle unto the Governour that the King of England had sent me as his ambassador unto his King, with a letter at present. I receiv'd the Governours answer both by them and three

his name appears to have been. M. ruz S. ruzd

of his servants sent me from Surat, that he and what the country afforded was at my command and that I should be very welcome if I would vouchsafe to come on shore. I went, accompanied with my merchants and others, in the best manner I could, biding for the honour of my king and country. At my coming on shore after their barbarous manner I was kindly received, and multitudes of people following me, all desirous to see a new come people, never nominated but never came in the parts. As I was neere the Governours house, word was brought me that he was not well, but I thinke rather drinke with affliction [*Hind ushim opunij*] or option, being an aged man. So I went unto the Chief Customier¹ which was the onely man that sea-faring causes belonged unto (for the government of Surat belonged unto two great noblemen, the one being Viceroy of Decan, named Chanchala,² the other Viceroy of Cambaya and Surat, named Motech-chan,³ but in Surat hee had no command, save onely over the kings customs), who was the onely man I was to deale withall. After many compliments done with this Chief Customier I told him that my coming was to establish and settle a factory in Surat, and that I had a letter for his king, who is desirous to have league and alliance with his king, and that kind that his subjects might freely goe and come, sell and buy, as the custome of all Nations is, and that my ship was laden with the commodities of our land which, by intelligence of former travellers, were vendible for these parts. His answer was that he would dispatch a footman for Cambaya unto the nobleman his master for of himselfe he could doe nothing without his order. So taking my leave, I departed to my lodging appointed for mee which was at the customers house.

In the morning I went to visit the Governour and, after

The *Shāhbandar* who had control of all matters relating to the port, including the customs.

Khan-Khanān, the highest military title. It was borne at some time by Mirza Asaf-rahmān, son of Mirza Ismāʿīl, Akbar's rebellious general. He was in charge of the operations against the Deccan Rājās with headquarters at Burhānpur.

³ Makarrat Khan, for whom see p. 63.

a present given him with great gravity and outward shew of kindness he entertained me, bidding me most heartily welcome, and that the country was at my command. After some civilities done, and entering into the private affairs of my business acquainting him wherefore my coming was for these parts, he answered me that these my affairs did not concern him, because they were sea-faring causes, which did belong unto Moorabehan and whom he promised me to dispatch a footman unto Canbaya and would write to my benefice, both for the amending of my shippe, as also concerning a factorie. In the meane while he appointed me to lodge in a merchants house that understood the Turkish, being at that time my French-man [interpreter] (see p. 57), the capture of that shippe which Sir Edward Michalborne tooke.¹

It was twentie dayes ere the answer came, by reason of the great waters and raines that men could not passe. In this time the merchants, many of them very friendly, feasted me when it was faire weather that I could get out of doors, for there fell a great rain, continuing almost the time the messengers were absent, who at the end of twenty dayes brought answer from Moorabehan with licence to land my goods and buy and sell for this present voyage, but for a future trade and selling of a factorie he could not doe it without the Kings commandement, which he thought would be effected, if I would take the paines of two moneths travel to deliver my Kings letter. And further, he wrote unto his Chiefe Master that all whatsoever I brought should be kept in the custome house, till his brother Saack Moler Rachim [Shah Astarahab] came, who should make all the last that possibly could be for to chase such goods as were fitting for the King (these excuses of taking goods of all men for the King are for their owne private gaines). Upon this answer I made at the last I could, releasing my shippe of her heavy burthen of lead and iron, which of necessity must be added

¹ This was in 1595, during an idle voyage for which Michaelborne was detained a year from 1593 to 1594. He was bound to go with the native vessels but did not dare to leave the East India Company.

The goods being layd out and kept in the Dutchmans power till the coming of this great man perceiving the time precious and my ship not able long to stay, I thought it convenient to send for three chests of money and with that to buy commodities of the same sorts that were vendible at Primmam and Bantam: which the Governors carry yearly thither making great benefit thereof. I began to buy against the will of all the merchants in the towne whose grumbling was very much and complaining unto the Governour and Customer of the leave that was granted me in buying those commodities, which would cut our owne throates at Primmam and Hartum, they not suspecting that I would buy commodities for those parts, but only for England.

At the end of this business the great man came, who gave me licence to ship it; before the shipping of which I called a counsell which were the merchants I had and those that I thought fitting for the business. I pretended first [intended] demanding every man opinion according to his place what should be thought convenient for the delivery of His Majesties letter and the establishing of a trade. So generally it was agreed and concluded that for the effecting of these weighty affaires it neither would nor could be accomplished by any but by myselfe, by reason of my experience in my former travels and language: as also I was knowne to all to be the man that was sent as ambassador about these affaires. After it was concluded and I contented to stay, I made what last I could in dispatching away the ship, and to ship the goods. This done I called Master Marlow and all the company that was on shore before mee acquainting them with my pleasure [intention], and how they should receive for their commander Master Marlowe, wishing them that they obey and reverence him in that kind as they did me. This done I brought them to the water side and, seeing them imbarke themselves, I bid them farewell.

The next day going about my affaires to the great muns brother I met with some tenne or twelve of our men of the best sort of them very much frightened to hug me the heaviest

* Primmam, a pepper port on the west coast of Sumatra. Bantam, on the north-east coast of Java.

news (as I thought) that ever came unto me of the taking of the brackes by a Portugal frigate or two, and all goods and men taken, only they escaped. I demanding in what manner they were taken, at what place they did not fight, the answer was so. Master Marrow would not suffer them, for that the Portugals were our friends, and Backe on the other side, wold to the Portugal without a power [hostage], and there he betrayed us, for he never came on board us after. Indeed Backe went upon the oath and faithfull promise of the Captaine, but was never suffered to returne. I presently sent a letter unto the Captaine Mager, that he release my men and goods, for that we were Englishmen, and that our kings had sent and amity together, and that we were sent unto the Mogols country by our king, and with his letter unto the Mogol for licence to trade in his country, and with His Majesties commission for the government of his subjects, and I durst to question but in delivering backe His Majesties subjects and goods, that it wold be well taken at our kings hands, if contrary it wold be a breach of breach. At the receipt of my letter, the port of round lay, so much, as the messenger told me, most verily shewing His Majesties longing after us, of his honour, and of what he had reported, and a full for his commission, according to send us any answer.

It was the next day to meete with a captain of one of the Portugal frigates, who came about business sent by the Chylaber Major. The business, as I understood, was that the Governor should send for us, to come on board, for that we were Hollanders. I understanding what he was, took occasion to speake with him of the amities betwixt our king, England and his subjects. His answer was that we was belinged unto the King of Portugal, and were bound to come here without his licence. I told him that the King of Portugals cause was as good as the King of Spaines, and as free for his subjects as for the King of Spaine, and he said with the contrary is a traytor, unsworne, and so tell your

for we were taken by the Portugals, and therefore in it com. This day my wife presented her name to the Governor, and much to him, and was received with great joy by our sea-men with the Portugals. (Marginal note by Purchas.)

great captain, that in abusing the King of England he is a
 unsex'd villain and a traitor to his king, and that I will maintain
 it with my sword. The duke could no more. I sent him a
 challenge, the Marquis perceiving I was much moved, caused
 the Portugal to depart. This Portugal some two daies after
 came to my house, promising me that he would procure the
 thirty six men and goods so that I would be liberal into
 him. I entertained him kindly and promised him my aid. But
 before he departed the towne my men and goods were sent
 for home.

I had my goods ready some five daies before I could be
 ready to receive them, for they would not let them be shipped
 till this great man came, which was the tenth of October,
 and two daies after the ship set saile. I remaining with one
 to remain, William Finch, who was like the greater part of
 his time and not able to stirre abroad to doe any business.
 The rest were two servants, a choker and my boy. These were
 the companye I had to defend our selves from such any enemies
 which saydely seeking to destroy us, and to get us for the
 shipping of my passage to the Great Mogell, but God pro-
 ceived and in spite of them all I could get to and remain
 to goe forward on my travels. After the departure of the
 ship I learned out that my goods and men were betrayed unto
 the Portugal by Morrell chaine and his followers, for it was
 soe that by the Jesuite I had Morrell chaine to protect me
 till the Portugall came to the bay, and then to dispatch me, for
 till then the dogge Morrell chaine his brother came not, and
 the carrying of these frigates was a such secrecy that
 they had taken us, we heard no power of them. After the
 departure of my ship I was soe distressed that it was unaffordable
 but as long as my ship was at the bay I was distressed withal.
 But howsoever well used or ill, it was not for mee to take
 thought for any thing, although remaining in an heathen
 country inhabited with so many enemies, who daily did
 nothing else but plot to murder me and cosen me of my
 goods, as hereafter you shall understand. First, incensed by
 Morrell chaine to have possession of my goods, thinking what
 he please I am, leaving me and he pleased giving me such a price

* This was Father Manuel Unheiro (see p. 6).

as his was barbarous conscience afforded that from thirtie five would give but eightene, not regarding his brothers bid was but for authority from men, and few albeit it was to get money from his chief servant after the time expired, as it is best known to us who took the pains in receiving a small part thereof before his coming to Surat, and after his coming I was barred of all, although he outwardly disssembled and flattered with me almost for three months feeding me with faire promises of payment and other kindnesses. In the meane time he came to my house three times, sweeping me cleane of all things that were good, so that, when he saw that I had no more good things left, he likewise by little and little degraded me of his good looks. At last all this time William which was extremesicke of the fluxe (dysentery) but, thanks be to God, recovered past all hope. In the other side could not peep out of doors for feare of the Portugals, which in troops lay lurking in by ways to give me assault to further me, this being at the time that the armada¹ was there.

The first plot laid against me was. I was invited by Hago Nazari (Khwaja Nizari) to the fraughting of his ship for Mocha, as the custome is they make at the fraughting of their ships great feasts for all the principallest of the towne. It was my good hap at that time a great cuptaine belonging to the Viceroy of Gujarat, resident in Ahmadabad, being sent about affaires unto Surat, was likewise invited to this feast which was kept at the waterside, and nere unto it the Portugals had two frigats of their armada, which came to receive their tribute of the shippes that were to depart as also refreshment. Out of these frigats there came three gallant fellows to the tent where I was, and some forty followers. Portugals, scattering themselves along the sea-side ready to give an assault when the word should be given. These three gallants that came to the tents armed with coats of buff downe to the knees, their rapiers and pistols by their sides, demanded for the English captain. Upon the hearing of which I arose presently and told them that I was the man.

¹ The Portuguese fleet of frigates trading between Goa and Cambray see p. 34

and perceiving an alteration in them I laid hand on my weapon. The Captain Mogol perceiving treason towards me, buta he and his followers drew their weapons and, if the Portugals had not been the swifter both they and their scattered crew on retiring to their frigates, has come short home. Another time they came to assault me in my house with a friar some thirty or forty of them. The friars coming was to animate the souldiers and to give them absolution. But I was alwaies wary, having a strong house with good doores. Many troupses at other times lay lurking for me and mine in the streetes, in that kind that I was forced to goe to the Governour to complaine that I was not able to goe about my businesse for the Portugals coming armed into the citie to murder me, which was not a custome at other times for any Portugals to come armed, as now they did. He presently sent word to the Portugals that, if they came into the city armed againe at their owne perils be it. At Moereb-chan his coming with a Jesuite named Padre Pinciro in his company (who profered Moereb-chan forty thousand rials of eight¹ to send me to Damam, as I understood by certaine advise given me by Hassan Aly² and Aly Porainory³, I went to visit him, giving him a present, besides the present his brother had; and for a time, as I have above written, I had many kind outward shewes of him, till the time that I demanded my money. After that his dissembling was past and he told me plainly that he would not give mee twentie manildes per vare⁴ but would deliver me backe my cloath. Upon which dealings I dissembled as wel as I could with him intreating leave for Agra to the King, telling him that William Finch was the man that I left as my chiefe in this place and in what kind soever his pleasure was to deale with me, he was the man to receive either money or ware, upon which answer he gave me his license and letter to the King, promising me forty horsemen to goe with me which hee did not accomplish. After license received, the Father put into Moereb-chan his head

¹ The rial of eight was worth about 4s. 6d.

² Khwāja Hasan Ali, afterwards Shāhbandar of Surat.

³ Vare is probably a misprint for yard. The *mahmūdī* was a small silver coin (equivalent to about 11d or 12d English) which was still the favourite currency in Gujarat, side by side with the rupee.

that it was not good to let my passe for this I would complain of him unto the King. Thus he plotted with Maurechian to overthrow my journey, when he could not do so because I came from a king, but he said that he would not let me have any force to go with me. And what should you have him to do either with my French men, [see p. 72] and contrive to poison or murder me, or else should force them to do it. This invention was put into Maurechian's head by the Father, but God for His mercie sake afterward discovered these plots, and the counsell of this I sawe toke no place. Before the putting of this, the Jesuite and I fed out in the presence of Maurechian for a le space as made by him of our king or invitation to be vassals unto the King of Portugall, which words I could not brooke in so much, but if I could have had my will the Father had never spoken more, but I was prevented.

Now finding William Pinel in good health newly recovered, I left all things touching the trade of merchandizing in his power, giving him my remembrance, and order what he should doe in my absence. So I began to take up soldiers to conduct me, being desired by Maurechian, besides shot and munition that I desired. For my better safety I went to one of our Indian merchants to borrow some horse fortie or fiftie, I ranen to conduct me to Chancannan, being then Vice roy of Decan, resident in Brampout [Barampore], who did to his power in that I demanded, giving me valiant horsemen, Pattans [Pattans], a people very much feared in these parts, for if I had not done it I had beene overthrowne. For the Portugals of Dacan had wrought with an ancient friend of theirs, a Raga [Raja], who was absolute lord of a province (betwene Dacan, Orissa and Decan) called Cruly,¹ to be ready with two hundred horsemen to stay my passage, but I went so strong and well provided, that they durst not encounter with us, so by his wise that time I escaped.

Then at Daya,² another province or principdom, my

¹ This has been identified as the district round Karol, four miles south east of Saker, for which see French's narrative.

² Dacca in his own River. The province referred to Baghān, a mountainous district to the south of the Ganges, which at that time contained

could man being drunke with certaine of his kindred, discovered
 the treason that hee was to worke against mee, which was that
 hee was hired to murder me. This being overheard by some
 of my souldiers, who at that present came and told me and
 how it should be done in the morning following, when we began
 our travel, (for wee use to travel two leagues before day,
 upon which notice I called the coachman unto me examining
 him and his friends before the captaine of the horsemen I had
 with mee, who could not deny, but hee would never confesse
 who hired him, although hee was very much beaten, cursing
 his fortune that he could not effect it for he was to doe the
 next morning. So I sent him prisoner unto the Governor
 of Surat. But afterward by my broker or true man I under-
 stood that both hee and the coachman were hired by Moor-
 elan, but by the Patheys perswasion, the one to poyson me
 and the other to murder me, but the truthman received
 nothing till he had done the deed, which hee never meant to
 doe for in that kind hee was alwayes true unto mee, thus
 God preserved mee. This was five dayes after my departure
 from Surat, and my departure from Surat was the first of
 February, 1608 [1609]. So following on my travels for
 Brampart some two dayes beyond Dayta the Patheys left
 me but to be conducted by another Pathie captaine, governor
 of that lordship, by whom I was most kindly entertained.
 His name was Saichan, Saich Khan. Being sometime a
 prisoner unto the Portugallians having the Portugall language
 perfect, was glad to see me, my service, for that I was of the
 nation that was enemy unto the Portugall. Himselfe a person
 with fortie horsemen, went two dayes journey with mee till
 hee had freed mee from the dangerous places, at which time
 hee came with a traine of our lawes and took some of our alive
 and slew and hurt eight, the rest escaped. This man very
 kindly writ his letter for me to have his house at Brampart
 which was a great cartow, otherwise I could not tell where
 to lodge my selfe, the towne being so full of souldiers, for then
 began the warres with the Deccans.

his dependence. The chief's headquarters were at Jajapur near
 Mulher, and he levied tolls on travellers from Surat to Astarapur, the
 road passing through his territories. See also *James's Account*.

The eighteenth of the said month thanks be to God, I came in safety to Brampoor, and the next day I went to the court to visit Clumclanna being then Lord General and Yu-Hoy of Deccan giving I represented who kindly took care and after three houres conference with him, he made me a great feast, and being risen from the table, invested me with two caucers, one of fine woollen and another of cloth of gold, giving mee his most kind letter of favour to the King which availed much. That done, he embraced me and so we departed. The language that we spoke was Turkish which he spake very well. I remained in Brampoor unto the second of March till then I could not end my businesses of monies that I brought by exchange, staying likewise for a cartavan. Having taken new soldiers, I followed my voyage or journey to Agra, where after much labour, toyle and many dangers I arrived in safety the sixteenth of April 1600.

Being in the citie and seeking out for an house in a very secret manner notice was given the King that I was come but not to be found. He presently charged both Horsemen and footmen in many troupes not to leave before I was found, commanding his Knight Marshall to accompany mee with great state to the court, as an ambassador of a King ought to be which he did with a great train, making such extraordinary haste that I informed [i. e. would not] much for I could scarce obtayne time to apparel my self in my best attyre. In fine I was brought before the King. I came with a slight present having nothing but cloth, and that not esteemed, for what I had for the King Merch-chian took from me wherewith I accompanied His Majesty. After salutation done with a most kinde and smiling countenance he bade me most heartily welcome upon which speech I did my obeysance and did the same. Having His Majesties letter in my hand, he called me to come neere unto him stretching downe his hand from the seate royall where he sat in great majestic something high far to be seen of the people, receiving very kindly the letter of me. Viewing the letter a pretty while both the seale and the manner of the making of it up, he called for an old Jesuite¹ that was there present to read it.

¹ Probably Father Xavier see p. 603.



JAHANGIR

In the same space when the Jesuite was reading it hee puke up to mee in the kindest manner that could bee, demanding of mee the content of the Letter which I did him open. Wee I rather presently granting and promising mee by God that all what the King lay there we too he would grant and allow with his heart and care as His Majestie would require it. The Jesuite likewise had the effect of the letter, but hee commending the stile saying it was base & perished, writing *Extra* without *Majestad*.¹ My answer was unto the King: And if it shall please Your Majestie these people are our enemies. How can this letter be & written without my King demandeth favour of Your Majestie? He said it was true.

Perceiving I had the Turkish tongue which himselfe well understood hee commanded me to follow him unto his chamber of presence being then risen from that place of open audience, desiring to have further conference with me, in which place I stayed some two houres, till the King came for a while from his women. Then calling mee into him, the first thing that hee spake was that he understood that Morebellian had not dealt well with mee, bidding mee hee of good cheer for he would remedie all. It should seeme that Morebellian had acquainted the King with all his proceedings, for indeed the King hath spoken upon every noblemans. I answered most humbly that I was certaine all matters would goe well & my selfe so long as His Majestie protected me. Upon which speech he presently sent away a post for Suratt with his command to Morebellian writing unto him very earnestly in our behalfe, conjuring him to be true to his friend & hee did not deale well with the Englishmen that lord as their desire was. This being reported hee and sent by the same messenger I sent my letter to William Hatch wishing him to goe with the command to Morebellian. At the receipt whereof hee wot that I came safe to Aleppo was not unaffected or provoked by the way of which speech William Hatch advertised me afterward.

¹ According to Du Jarric, vol. i, p. 101, Hawkins had brought with him a "certaine personall letter" to the King.

The manuscript of Hawkins has been received at the Dickinson, or public audience chamber.

It grew late and having had some small conference with the King at that time he commanded that I should immediately be brought into his presence and gave acceptance thereof. His labourer in that said I should lodge at his house till a horse were found convenient for me and when I heard my king of the King (but he soon became sick) According to command I resorted to the court where I had long conference with the King. Both night and day his delight was very contented with me both of the affairs of England and other countries, as also many demands of the West Indies whereof he had notice long before being in doubt if there were any such place to be met withal with one who had been in the country.

Many days and weeks being past and I now in great favour with the King the grief of all mine enemies expiring my time I commanded for his commandment or command with applications for the establishing of our factory to be in mine own power. His answer was whether I would remain with him in his court. I replied, till shipping came then my desire was to goe home with the answer of His Majesty's court. He replied againe that his answering was a matter of time for he meant to send an embassage to the King of England at the coming of the next shipping and that I should stay with him until some other be sent from my king to remaine in my place saying that The staying would be long but for the benefit of the nation and that he would give me good countenance and my being here in his presence would be the cause to right all wrongs that should be offered unto a nation and further what I should see beneficial for them upon my petition made hee would grant swearing by his fathers side that if I would remaine with him he would grant me officers for our factory to my hearts desire and would never goe from his word. I replied againe, that I would consider of it. This day inducing me to stay with him, alleging as is above written and that I should doe service both to my natural king and to him, and likewise he would

* Probably Khūshkhabar Kōh, the tale given by Intergo to the natives — brought him the news of the defeat of his enemies Khūshu (Tārikh, vol. 4, p. 63).

allow me by the value three thousand and two hundred pounds sterling for my first and so very well prepared me to augment my living the benefit of the said horse so my first should be for a hundred horse for the nobility of India have their titles by the number of their horses, that is to say from forty to twelve thousand which may belongeth to princes and Esquires. I thus ingaged his promise and seeing I was benefited both to my name and my selfe being dispossessed of that benefit which I should have reaped if I had gotten Bartolme and that after halfe a dozen yeeres, Your Worshipps would send another man of sort in my place in the meane time I should feather my nest and doe you service and further perceiving great injuries offered me by reason the King is so farre from the ports: for all which causes above specified I did not thinke it amisse to write unto his request. Then, because my name was something hard for his pronunciation he called me by the name of English Chan that is to say English Lord, but in Persia it is called Kan, is the title for a Duke and this went current throughout the countrey.

Now your Worships shall understand that I being now in the height of my favour, the Jesuites and Portuguese excepted but by no means sought my overthrow and to say the truth the principall Mahometans neere the King envied much that a Christian should be so high unto him. The Jesuite Pereira being with Mocerbehan and the Jesuites here I thinke did little regard their masses and church matters for studying how to overthrow my affaires before being gone to Goa by the Jesuites here I came in Agra and to Padre Pereira out of India or Canahaya, hee working with Mocerbehan to be the Portuguese assistance and the Vice Roy sending him a great present together with many boxes [i.e. curiosities] unto the King with his letter. These presents and many more promises wrought so much with Mocerbehan that he writeth his petition

The letter addressed to Sir Hawkins at Goa as 10,000 rases, which would amount to a sum here stated. It was not until he reached that station on the 15th that he gave the Emperor presents worth 25,000 rases for which he would have been sent to prison. In 1613, when he left India, the piece was finished.

unto the King sending it together with the present, to advertise the King that the suffering of the English in India had would be the cause of the loss of his own countries unto the superstitious as Surali, Cambaya, and such like, and that in any case I entertaine me not for that his ancient friends the Portugalls murdered and lynt it, and that the fault is spread amongst the Portugalls that I was general of ten thousand horsemen ready to give the assault upon Diu when a shipping came. The Vice-Royes letter likewise was in this kind. The Kings answer was that he had but one Englishman in his court, and him they needed not to feare, for hee had not pretended any such matter, for I would have given him living coeys the sea parts, but he refused it taking it neere his heart. This was the Kings answer, upon which answer the Portugalls were like rundle dogges labouring to worke my passage out of the world. So I told the King what dangers I had passed, and the present danger wherein I was, my boy Stephen Gravenor instantly departing this world, my man Nchoas killed² extreme sick, and this was all my English company, my selfe beginning to fall owne too. The King presently called the Jesuites and told them that if I dyed by any extraordinary casualty, that they should atone for it. This past the King was very earnest with me to take a white maye on out of his palace; who would give her all things necessary with slaves, and he would promise mee shee should turne Christian, and by this means my meates and drinckes should be looked unto by them, and I should live without feare. In regard she was a Moore, I refused. But if so bee there could bee a Christian found I would accept it. At which my speech I little thought a Christians daughter could bee found. So the King called to memorie one Mubarrak Shih [Mubarak

Dr. Jamie, vol. III, p. 196 records the allegation that Hawkins proposed to the Emperor he be taken to a land of his choice, where he would remain at his pleasure, promising the help of fourteen thousand Britons from the sea.

² Elliot returned to England with Hawkins, and then came out again in command of a fleet. In 1601 we are told he died, and five years later he died in India one of the vessels of Sir Thomas Dale's fleet. An account he appears to have written of Agre and the brief routes thither is referred to on a later page.

Shah] his daughter, who was a Christian Armenian, and of the race of the most ancient Christians, who was a captive and in great favour with Ekber Padasha (Hind Padshah, Emperor), this kings father. This captaine dyed suddenly and without worth a masse of money, and all ridded by our brokers and kindred, and debts that cannot be recovered, leaving the said but on a few jewels. I seeing shee was of so I met a desert, having passed my word to the King could not withstand my fortunes. wherefore I took her and for want of a minister before Christian witnesses I married her. The priest was my man Nicholas (I file), which I thought had beene lawfull, till I met with a preacher that came with Sir Henry Middleton and hee shewing me the error, I was law married againe. So ever after I lived content and without care, she being willing to goe where I went and live as I lived.

After these matters ended, newes came hither that the *Armenians* was to come, by the mean of her purchase, that was cast away neere Surat, upon which newes I presently went to the King and told him, craying as becommeth together with his commission for the setting of our trade, whel the King was willing to doe finding me a time to returne and be with him againe. But the Kings chiefe Vizir Abdur Hassan, a mean cry is to all Christians, told the King that my going would be the occasion of warre and this harme might happen into a great man [i.e. Maharrab Khan] who was sent for him to pay taxes for the King. Upon which speech the Kings pleasure was I should stay and send away his commission to my chiefe factor at Surat; and presently gave order that it should be most effectually written. In fine, under his great scale with golden letters his commission was written so firme for our good and so free as heart can wish. This I obtained presently and sent it to William Burch. Before it

According to the *Journal* Hawkins agreed to the *Armenians* factor to deliver the *Armenians* and was told that this *Armenians* was the head of the *Armenians* who was the head of the *Armenians* who was the head of the *Armenians*.

Now, as *Abd. Hassan* came to *Surat* p. 20. he was given of a chief *Armenians* when *Jourdain* brings him the *Armenians* secretary.

came, there news came that the *Iscenton* was cast away and the men saved, but not suffered to come into the city of Surat. Of that I told the King, who seemed to be very much discontented with that grove of Arab Merchants my enemy, and gave me another commendement for their good usage and means to be wrought to save the goods, if it were possible. These two commendements came almost together, the great joy of William Barchan, the rest admiring much at these things.

And now continuing these great favours with the King being centrally in his spot for 10 or 12 days there are and twentie rogues serving him day and night. I wasted not the greater part of his hours that were Mahomedians to be true Christians, for it went against their hearts that a Christian should be so great and near the King, and therefore because the King had promised to make his clothescloset in front Christians, which two yeeres after my coming he performed, commanding them to be made Christians.^a A while after came some of the *Iscenton* company into me (which I could have wished of better behaviour, a thing proved by the King). In all this time I could not get a dith of Moorishman till at length he was sent for up to the King to answer for many faults and tyrannical injustice which he did to a person in those parts many a year, being more by him, who petitioned to the King for justice. Now as a way to make his prosecution many brings to the Kings soldiers and noblemen that were near to a King who laboured in his behalf. After news came that Moorishman was approached near the King presently sent to attend all his goods which were in that place, and for the King was two months in viewing of them, every day there was a certain quantity to be brought before him, half and was out the night fitting for his own carnal pleasure, and the rest delivered again to Moorishman. In the viewing of these goods there came those pieces and costlier at a headpiece with other presents that he took from me for the King of mine own, not suffering me to bring them my self, as the sight whereof I was so bold to tell the King what was mine. After the King had viewed these goods a very great

^a See the account of that society Church.

comproment was made by a Barman, *Isakha* (Isak), now that Moerichan had taken his charge, saying this was for the King, which was his excuse, showing for himself, and the words gave out to a Brahman [*Brahmin*] belonging to Moerichan. The man who gave notice of this child protested for to pass all that ever he saw for he said. The man being examined, and the offence done by Moerichan found to be true, he was committed to prison in the power of a great nobility, and a commitment was given that the Brahman and privy members should be cut off.¹

But as this happened to Moerichan, I went to visit him divers times, who made me some fair promises that he would do very kindly with me, and be my friend, and that I should have my right. Now being in this disgrace, his friends daily soliciting for him at length got him cheer with commendement that he pay every man his right, and that as to the complaints he made I am if he loved his life. So Moerichan by the Kings command paid every one his due excepting the woman, who would not pay, but deliver me my ransom, whereof I was forced to make, if it were possible, by fair means at end with him, but he put me off the more, delaying time till his departure, which was shortly after. For the King had restored him his old office again, also he was to goe for Goa about a fair balance ruby, and other rare things promised the King.

All my going and sending to Moerichan for my money or doath was in vain. I being abused so basely by him, that I was forced to demand justice of the King, who understood that the money he brought before him, but for all the Kings command he did us no justice, and doe what I could, to send me off twelve thousand and five hundred rials of gold. For the greatest man in this kingdom was his brother, and many others

¹ According to the *Tauk-Yu-ki* 17th century version was made by a woman who was married but he had none. The *Ataka* had a husband who was away on his journey and was not at home. The wife was married by the *Yak* who was a man who was there and was a friend of the woman. The woman was a friend of the man who was a friend of the woman. The woman was a friend of the man who was a friend of the woman.

I have a record of a letter from a man to a woman, who was a friend of the man who was a friend of the woman.

holding on his side, promising to the King the suffering of King Shih-ching into his country, for that we were a nation that if we once set foot, we would take his country from him. The King asked me to make answer to that they said. I answered His Majesty that if any such matter were, I would answer it with my ear, and that we were not so base a nation as these male merchants reported, and this was because I demanded my due and yet could not get it. At this time those that were more favourable and nearest unto the King, whom I daily visited and kept in withall space in my behaife, and the King hearing on my side, imagined that no more such wrongs be offered me. So I thinking to use my best in the recovery of this, intruding the head Vizir that he would be mercies that I receive not so great a losse, he answered me in a threatening manner that if I did open my mouth any more, he would make me to pay an hundred thousand muzzones, which the King had lost in his customs by entering my place, and my man of first adventure by reason of the Portugall. So by this means I was forced to hold my tongue, for I know this money was swallowed by both these rogues. Now Moorcheman being commended in publicke that by such a way he be ready to depart for Guzarat, and so for Gouat and then come and take his leave as the custome is, in this mean time three of the principallest merchants of Surat were sent for by the Kings commandment and come to the court about affaires wherein the King or his Vizir had employed them, being then present toore when Moorcheman was taking his leave, this being a plot laid by the Portugalls, Moorcheman, and the Vizir, for some six daies before a letter came unto the King from the Portugall Viceroy, with a present of many rare things. The contents of this letter were to witte, by the King of Portugall took in his part the overhauling of the King's, he being furnished with the warlike equipments, and wittad, how that a vessel at it was thence arrived with a very

* Moorcheman Khān had been engaged on this mission as early as November 1599, but had failed to return. A few news of his progress were then reported to the King. The letter from the Viceroy of Portugal, dated 15th February 1600, was the first definite news of his return. It was a long letter, and the King's reply to it was dated 16th March 1600. The letter from the Viceroy of Portugal, dated 15th February 1600, was the first definite news of his return. It was a long letter, and the King's reply to it was dated 16th March 1600.

four hundred ruby, weighing three hundred and fifty ratties, of worn stone the *sutara* was sent. Upon this news Moor-chelan was to be hastened away, at whose coming to take his leave, together with Padre Pineso that was to goe with him, the above named merchants of Surat being then there present, Moor-chelan began to make his speech to the King saying that this and many other things he desired to obtaine of the Portugall so that the English were distressed, saying more that it would redound to great losse as to His Majesties and subjects if hee did further suffer the English to come into his ports. Upon which speech he called the merchants before the King to declare what losse it would be for that they best knew. They affirmed that they were like to be all undone because of the English, nor hereafter any toy could come into this countrey because the Portugall was so strong at sea and would not suffer them to goe in or out of their ports, and as their excuse was for suffering the English. These speeches drew and furthered and here of this story and promises by the Fathers of our things were the causes the King overthrew my affairs, saying Let the English come no more presently giving Moor-chelan his commandement to achieve the thing to that effect, that he would never suffer the English to come any more into his ports.

I now saw that it boded me ill to meddle upon a sudden to make any petition unto the King till a pretty while after the departure of Moor-chelan, and seeing my enemies were so many although they had eaten of my many presents. When I saw my time, I made petition unto the King. In this space I found a toy to give, as the order is for there is no man that cometh to make petition who cometh empty handed. Upon which petition made him, he presently granted my request, commanding his Vizir to make me another commandement in as ample manner as my former and commanded that no man should open his mouth to the contrary for it was his pleasure that the English should come into his ports. So this time againe I was allowed. Of this intention at that instant the Jesuite had notice for there is no matter passed in the Mogols court a secret, but it is knowne half an houre

Iron in seal of these pretences used as a powder in weight

after a long and hard matter to the writer of that day, for there is nothing that possibly but it is what is said writers appointed by letters to take the Father and I could pass any business but when we would we had notice. So the desire presently send away the most speedy messenger that could be gotten, with one letter to Philip Pizarro and Moricheban saying the one of ad that and passed. At the receipt of which they ceased to struggle, they say not to go forward in their voyage for God's sake I were overthrown again. Wherefore Moricheban wrote his petition unto the King and letters returned from the hand of the King now it stood not with the King's honour to send him if he performed I not want to go to the Portugal and that his voyage would be overthrown if he could not sail in the commandment he had given the Englishman. Upon the receiving and reading of this the King went again from his work to take a few toys which the English had presented him more than his labour.

Now being thus to see the fulfiling of this I went to Hage Jahat, Lord General of the Kings Palace (the second chamberlain in the king's court) and saying him that he would stand my friend. He very kindly presently went unto the king to say him that I was very heavy and unconfort that Abdul Hassan would not deliver me as much as I desired, which His Majesty had granted me. The king answered him (being present and very near him) saying it was true that for comfort of me it is desired and ready to be delivered him. But upon letters received from Moricheban and better consideration by me had in these my riches in my parts of Goudat, I thought it better not to return have it. It was as I desired and thanked in the kind of a rich merchant and a thriving one he was in one bottle, and by cause of storms and pirates lost and was not so that in the other side concerning my living I was so crossed that many times this Abdul Hassan his answer would be that he. For we were not yet stand not in my service for year master desired your favour and the King know it what he did in giving to you, from whom

between years, the other side the Mahomet. King's when we were to have him sent. He was most obliging to me before to supply my needs in natural work as Agas and others.

re should receive. My answer was that it was the Kings pleasure and none of my request, and so gave it to His Majestie as gift. I had no reason to loose it. So that from that tyme I had to live gave paye, for I should have had out a good living for me. This was I desired withall by this time, when it was so much that in all the time I served in court I could not get a living that would yield any thing, giving me my living still in places where out-laws raised. Only once at Laner, by an especiall commendement from the King, but I was soon revivied of it, so that I received from the beggar was not fully three hundred pounds, a great part where I was spent upon charges of men sent to the Lordships. When that I saw that the living which the King absolutely gave me was taken from me, I was then past all hopes for better at the tyme of the arrivall of shipping. I had great hope that the King would performe former grants, in hope of rare things that should come from England. But when I made answer upon that or petition made to the King concerning my living, he turned me over to Abdul Hassan, who not only denied me my living, but also gave order that I be suffered no more to enter with the red robes which as a piece of honour where at my time I was placed very neere unto the King, in which place there were but five men in the kingdom before me.

Now perceiving that all my affaires were over me, I determined with the counsell of those that were near me to resolve whereto to trust, either to be well in it or well out. Upon this resolution I had my petition made ready, by which I made known unto the King how Abdul Hassan, my dearest was made, having himselfe taken what His Majestie gave me, and how that my charges of maintenance thereof by His Majestie desired to stay in his court upon the furniture houses by night, and were so much that it would be my utter overthrow, therefore I besought His Majestie that he would consider my cause, either to establish it as formerly or give me leave to depart. His answer was that he gave me leave to depart.

After that the Lordship Abdul Hassan had taken the things which he desired, he sought to be more intruding, and sought any thing at the Kings hand.

his safe conduct to her home, nor to pass freely without molestation throughout his kingdom. When this arrangement was made, as the custom is, I came to dine by day and to take my leave, entreating for an answer. I my kings letter. Abdul-Hassan, coming in to me from the king, in a disdainful manner utterly derided me, saying that it was not the custom of so great a monarch to write in the kind of a letter as to a petty prince or governor. I answered him that the king knew more of the rightness of the king of England than to be a petty governor. Well, this was mine answer together with my leave taken.

I went home to my house, staying without any endeavour to get all my goods and debts together, owing to my communications with those merchants that were remaining, using all the speed I could to leave my sale of the country, staying only for Nicholas Uffet to come from Tavour with a remittance of money that was in William Finch's power, who determined to go overland, being just about to set for ever and seeking our season at Surat, which course I also would willingly have taken, but that (as it is well known) for some causes I could not travel thorough Turkie, and especially with a woman, so I was forced to return favour with the Jesuits to get their safe conduct or sekato from the Viceroy to go for Goa, and so to Portugall, and from thence to England. Thinking (as the opinion of others was, that the Viceroy giving this secure royal order would give no danger for me. But when my wife and the maid Kindred saw that I was to carry her away, suspecting that they should never see her any more, they did so distaste me in these my travels that I was forced to yield unto them that my wife go no farther then Goa, because it was forbidden that they could go and come and visit her, and that, if at any time I meant to go for Portugall, or any other where, that I leave her that portion that the custom of Portugall is to leave to their wives when they are, unto which I was forced to yield, to give them content to prevent all mischiefes. But knowing that if my wife would go with me, all would be effected, I effected with the Jesuite to send for two secures, the one concerning my quick being, and the other

a Spaniard and nearest friend of the King being the dearest friend of the Marchioness and likewise Abdur Hassan had brought up together from the school and persuaded them into the King began to make a speech unto the King saying that the granting of this would be the utter overthrow of his sea coast and people as His Majesty had been informed by letters from divers of his subjects and besides that it should not win His Majesty's favour to contradict that which he had granted to his ancient friends the Portuguese and who ever abated for the English knew not what I did, if I knew how to win His Majesty's friend. Upon the speech of this Spaniard my business once againe was quite overthrown and all my time and presents lost, the King answering that for my nation hee would not grant trade at the sea ports for the inconvenience that divers times had beene scanned upon but for my selfe if I would remaine in his service he would contract that what he had a sword me should be given me to my content which I denied because the Spaniard should come in to his ports according to his trade and as for my particular maintenance, my King would not see me want. Then desiring againe answer of the King I told he consulted awhile with his Viceroy and then sent me his denyall. So I took my leave and departed for the Viceroy the second of November 1611 being of a thousand thoughts what course I were best to take for I still had a doubt of the Portuguese that if for here of my goods they would pursue me. Again on the other side I was dangerous by reason of the warres to travee thorough Decan into Mustajapatam. By land by reason of the Turkes I could not goe, and to say I would not amongst these faithlesse infidels.

I arrived at Canbaya the last of December 1611¹ where I had certaine newes of the English ships that were at Surat. Immediately I sent a footman unto the ships with my letter, with certaine advice affirmed for a truth by the English of Canbaya unto me that the Viceroy had in a readinesse prepared to depart from Canbaya great ships with certaine galleons and frigates for to come upon them and traitors plotted against Sir Henry Middleton's person of which newes I was

¹ The word *Canbaya* is now a little different, see *Journal*, p. 168.

wished by the Fathers to advise Sir Henry — which I found afterward to bee I it their policie to put him in feare and so to depart — and with all I wished them to be well advised. And as for me, my shifts were to goe home by the way of the Port igoia, for so I had promised my wife and her brother, who at that present was with me, and to delude him and the Fathers till I had notice for certaine that I might freely get aboard without feare, which I was assured to know at the returne of my letter. In the meane time I did all that I could to dispatch her brother away, who within two dayes after departed for Agra, not suspecting that I had any intent for the ships Nicholas Ufflet now departing from mee to survey the way, being two dayes journey in his way met with Captaine William Sharpegh, Master Fraunc and Hija Grecte, sent by Sir Henry to Cambaya unto mee, which was no small joy unto mee. So understating of the place (which was miraculously found out by Sir Henry Middleton, and never known to any of the countrey).¹ I thanked and gave God thanks — for if this place had not beene found it had beene impossible for mee to have gotten aboard with my goods. Wherefore making all the haste that I could in dispatching my selfe away I departed from Lambaya the eighteenth of January, 1611 [1612] and came unto the ships the six and twentieth of the said month, where I was most kindly received by Sir Henry Middleton.

From this place we departed the eleventh of February, 1611 [1612] and arrived at Dabul [Dabhol] the sixteenth of the same; in which place we took a Portugall ship and frigate out of which we took some quantitie of goods. And from thence we departed the first of March 1611 [1612] for the Red Sea, with an intent to revenge us of the wrongs offered us, both by Turkes and Mogols, at which place wee arrived the third of April, 1612. Here we found three English ships — their Generall was Captaine John Suris.² Having dispatched our businesse in the Red Sea, wee set saile from thence the

¹ A mistake for Alexander.

² This refers to the discovery of a safe anchorage in 'Swa ty Flow' — for which see John Surin's narrative, pp. xxxv–177 &c.

³ See *The Voyages of John Suris*, Hakluyt Society, 1900.

sixteenth of August, 1612, and arrived in Teet [Tiku] in Sumatra the nineteenth of October, 1612. And having ended our business there, we departed in the night the twentieth of November 1612, and came on ground at same night three leagues off, upon a bed of corall in three fathome water, or thereabouts, and by the great merces of God we escaped, but were forced to retire backe againe to stop her ankers, the goods being taken out and some damage received. Now her leakes being somewhat stopped, and her goods in, not losing an houre of time we departed from thence the eight of December, 1612, and arrived at Bantam the one and twentieth of the same; where Sir Henry Middleton, not finding the *Trade* sufficient to goe home that yeare, was forced to stay and earne for. Having ended account with him as himselfe liked best, I took my goods and shipped them in the *Salomon*, which came for our Voyage for saving of a greater freight, but I could not be admitted to goe in her my selfe. Captaine Sarris, I thank him, accommodated me in the *Thomas*, and it was agreed that the *Salomon* and wee should keepe company together.

From thence we set sayle on the thirtieth of January, 1612 [1613] and arrived in Saldama Roade [Table Bay] the one and twentieth of Aprill, 1613, and coming thence some two hundred leagues from the Cape, we had much foule weather and contrary winds. Here we found foure sayle of Hollanders, that departed Bantam a moneth before us. There was great kindness betwixt us, especially to me, in regard that they had heard much of my great estate in India by an agent of theirs that was heere resident at Masulipatan. Some eight dayes after the *Expedition*¹ came in, and brought mee a letter from Your Worships and delivered it unto me two dayes after their arrivall. The wind coming faire we departed from Saldama the one and twentieth of May, 1613.

¹ This was the Twelfth Voyage, under Christopher Newport. An account of it, written by Walter De Witt, was to be found in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, part 1, bk. iv, chap. 8).

A brief discourse of the strength, wealth, and government with some customs of the Great Mogol, which I have both seen and gathered by his chief officers and overseers of all his estate

First I begin with his princes, dukes, marquesses, viscounts, barons, knights, esquires, gentlemen, and squirens. As Christian princes use their degrees by letters, so they have their degrees and titles by the number of horses attached to them: those that the King most favoureth whom he honoureth with the title of Chan and Iran-za [*Mirza*]. None have the title of Sultan but his son only. Chan in the Persian language is as much as a duke. Iran-za is the title for the King's brother's children. They that be of the family of twelve thousand horsemen belong to the King, and Iran-khan's and eldest sonne,¹ and one more whom is of the blood royal of Uzbek, named Chan Azam.² Dukes be more than one, some marquesses five thousand horse, earls three thousand, viscounts two thousand, barons a thousand, knights four hundred, esquires in number, gentlemen fifty, squirens from twenty downwards.³ All they that have these numbers of horsemen are called *mansab-dars*,⁴ or men of ranks or lordships. Of these there be three thousand that is to say, four be of twelve thousand horse apiece and they be the King, his brother, Sultan Persia, Prince and Chan Azam. Of nine thousand horsemen there be three, that is to say Sultan Osman, the King's third sonne, Chanchan, and Kalich Khan [*Kali Khan*]. Of five thousand there be eighteen named Hasul Khan, Chan Jehan, Abdula Chan, Raja Muzung, Raja Durga, Raja Surung, Baran, and Hechaya, Raja Bussu, Barre, Unera, Mulhabet Chan, Chan Dowran, Sedris Chan

¹ Maryam-zamani. She was a daughter of Raja Buldur Mal.

² A son was called, Hazrat-mansab, or Prince, who was Jahangir's second son. Khurram, the eldest, was at that time a prisoner of war and rebel.

³ Kali Khan, Khan Azam a first brother of Aurangzeb whose reign he had seen, a not a famous figure. The allegation about his descent from a chief of the Uzing Tartars is a mere tale of a few nations.

⁴ This comparison with Roman degrees is rather casual, and the enumeration of the various grades is incomplete.

Muzung, an officer of rank, dar, the holder thereof.

⁵ Khurram, afterwards the Emperor Shah Jahan.

Hogio Beg Mirza, Mirza Cuzi, Eitchar Chan, Abul fet Dikany, Jemio Cully Chan, Sheik Ferid. Of three thousand there be two and twentieth, to wit, Chan Yen, Mirza Ereg, Mirza Darab, Hogio Jalur, Hogio Abdul Hassan, Mirza Gaysbey, Mirza Shenchaden, Mirza Candala, Saffer Chan, Kazem Chan, Mirza Cuzi Kezib, Saif Chan, Lady Bersingda, Mirza Zaidy, Mirza Aly Esherehaly, Terbiat Chan, Mirza Laschary, Mirza Charieogly, Mirza Rustam, Ally Merton Bader, Tasley Chan, Abimbey.¹ The rest bee from two thousand downwards til you come to twentie horses, two thousand nine hundred and fiftie. Of horsemen that receive pay monethly from sixe horse to one, there be five thousand. These bee called haddas [shadi]. Of such officers and men as belong to the court and camps there be thirtie six thousand, to say, porters, gingers, watermen, mukyes, horse-keepers, elephant-keepers, small-shot frasses [farrash], or tent men, cockes, ghil seetters, gardeners, keepers of all kind of beastes. All these be payd monethly out of the Kings treasure, whose wages be from ten to three rupias. All his captaines are to maintaine at a seven nights warning from twelve thousand to twentie horse, all horsemen three leekes [lukhs] which is three hundred thousand horsemen, which of the incomes of her lordships allowed them they must maintayne.

The Kings yearly income of his crowne and is fiftie crow [crore] of rupias.² Every crow is an hundred leekes, and every leek is an hundred thousand rupias.

Apart from misprints, these two lists appear to be both nearly whole and correct. The persons named are probably: 1. Asaf Khan (Jafar Beg Khan Jahan Lodhi, Asaf Khan Khān Rāya Muz Sāgar ofampur Bay Dīnga, Rāya Sāgar of Lodhpur Rāya Jia Kae-waha Hān Bote the Amīr-omrah Sharf Khan, Mubāshir Khan Khan Laurian, Firoz Khan, Kowāla Beg Mirza Sūraw, Mirza Kasim, Lami Khan, Asafath Akhama, Jahangir Khan Khān (?), Saikh Feroz Buzurg, 2. Khān Alam, Mirza Jān Shāh-nawāz Khān, Mirza Jānī Khwaja Jānī, Khwaja Asaf Hasan, Mirza Gāyās Beg, Mirza Shams-ud-din Mirza Saad-ud-din, Zafar Khān, Mirza Khān (?), Mirza Jān Kāf, Saif Khan, 3. Lām Darsingh, Beg of Jāhān Mirza Zāhī (?), Mirza Ali Akbar Khan, Tārāyā Khan, Mirza Lāshkarī, Mirza Shāhrukh Gila, 4. Mirza Rustam, Ali Marwan Khān Boudār, Fāsh Beg Khan, Abul Fāz.

¹ At p. 3d the rupee thus would equal 50, in terms of pounds sterling. Edward Thomas, in his *Recent Reminiscences of the Mughal Empire* (p. 30,

The compass of his readiness is two ventres (ix) II wān caravān, to say from Cambar to Agra from Soultān² in Bengala to Agra from Cam to Agra from Decan to Agra from Surāt to Agra from Tatta in Sindh to Agra. Agra is in a manner in the heart of all his kingdoms.

His empire is divided into five great kingdoms. The first is Hind-Pengab-Panjab, whose chief seat is the city of Lahore, the second is Bengala, the chief seat Sonargaon (Sonargahat), the third is Malwa (Mālwa) the chief seat is Ujjain (Ujjain), the fourth is Decan, the chief seat Bhatpur (Bhatnagar), the fifth is Guzerat the chief seat is Ahmedabad (Ahmedābad). The chief city or seat royal of the kings of India is called Dely where are established king and there all the rites touching his coronation are performed.

There are six especial castles to say Agra Gwalior (Gwalior), Nerver Ratambour Hassier Roughtar³. In every one of these castles he hath his treasure kept.

In all his empire there are three rebellious or rebels which with all his forces cannot be taken in to say Andarry Chapu⁴ in Decan; in Guzerat the sonne of Muzafar that was king his name is Bahador⁵ of Maya Rags Ratta⁶. His soldiers be five to say Sultan Cossero Sultan Pervis Sultan Chorer Sultan Shamar and Sultan Bath⁷. He hath

across this statement as authentic, with the reservation that Hawkins may have meant to say that he was not a native and never became a resident. It should be noted however that Hawkins went to Agra in 1608 before Hawkins had been established in India. He died in 1627. The statement that he was a Frenchman is doubtful, as he was not a Frenchman by birth, but the price revenue in 1608 was then only about £425,000 per annum.

¹ Possibly meant for Rajara Sumer near Sonargaon. Roe mentions this place as a winter resort of the emperor.

² The name here are Narwar (now in Muzar State) Ruananchor in Japur Agra near Bhatnagar, and Rohtas in the Shahabad district, Khyber.

Wazir Ambar for whom see p. 133. Chapu is possibly a misreading of some form of Chahar. Anandpur.

⁴ A misreading of Muzafar Khan and the misreading of Guzerat.

⁵ The name here is Anandpur.

⁶ The name here is Anandpur. The name here is Anandpur. The name here is Anandpur.

two young daughters,¹ and three hundred wives, whereof four be chiefe as princes, to say, the first, named Padasha Banu,² daughter to Hamir Chah; the second is called Noore Mahal, the daughter of Enis Beyge; the third is the daughter of Se nehah;³ the fourth is the daughter of Hinkim Haman, who was brother to his father, Ekbar Padshah.⁴

His treasure is as followeth the first is his severall coine of gold.⁵

Inprunts, of serafims Ekber,⁶ which be ten rupias a piece, there are sixtie leekes. Of another sort of coyne of a thousand rupias a piece,⁷ there are twentie thousand pieces. Of another sorte of halfe the value there are ten thousand pieces. Of another sort of gold of twenty toles⁸ a piece there are thirtie thousand pieces. Of another sort of tenne toles a piece there be five and twenty thousand pieces. Of another sort of five toles, which is this kings stampe, of these there be fiftie thousand pieces.

a many more for coin. Similarly, Salomon in *Lettres Recueilles*, vol. vi, p. 184, speaks of "Susan Tok".

Sudānammah an I Bahar Bān Begam,

¹ Padasha Banu Begam, daughter of Hamir Khan.

² Zu Khan Kaka, Akbar's foster-brother.

³ Noore Begam is better known as the consort of Jahangir. Hinkim Haman was a favourite officer of Akbar but it is doubtful. Perhaps he is confused with Mirza Muhammad Haman, governor of Isfahan, who was a brother of that monarch.

Purchas, in his *Purchas his* 529, says that Wittington received of the Indians which resemble the same story of the Mogol treasures. Probably Hawkins obtained his information from the same source.

⁴ Maham of Akbar's concubine. Xerxes was the Portuguese form of Ashoka, which was frequently used for the gold mohur.

The Moghals coined pieces of 200, 100, and 50 mohurs, but they seem to have been used chiefly for presentation by order of the Emperor on ceremonial occasions. An account of them was published in Lane Poole's *Coinage of the Moghul Emperors* p. xxxv; Munro's *Store of the Moghul*, vol. i, p. 206 speaks of pieces of 20, 500, and 1,000 mohurs, saying "the king gave them as presents to his wives. When I was attending as physician on one of these she made me a present of one of these coins."

⁵ A tola is a rupee-dhalora (tanna, current) of silver, and one of these toles are the value of one of gold (mohur and note). The tola was a goldsmith's weight, equivalent to 96 satas. The rupee weighed about 120 satas.

Of silver, as followeth

Lupinus, of rupias Echery, thirteene croon (every croon is an hundred leekes and every leek an hundred thousand rupias) is one thousand three hundred leekes. Of another sort of croon of Beem Shah, this king of an hundred toles a piece, there are fiftie thousand pieces. Of fiftie toles a piece there is one leek. Of fawtie toles a piece there are fawtie thousand pieces. Of twentie toles a piece there are thirte thousand pieces. Of ten toles a piece there are twentie thousand pieces. Of five toles a piece there are five and twentie thousand pieces. Of a certaine money that is called savy² which is a tole $\frac{1}{2}$ of these there are two leekes. Of jagaries³ whereof five make six toles, there is one leek. More should have been sayed of this shajje, but the contrary was commanded.

Here followeth of his Jewells of all sorts.

Lupinus, of diamantes $1\frac{1}{2}$ battman, these be rough, of all sorts and sizes, great and small, but no less then 25 caratts. The battman⁴ is fifty five pound waight, which maketh eightie two pounds $\frac{1}{2}$ weight English⁵. Of balace rubies, the and great good and bad, there are sange two thousand pieces. Of perle of all sorts there are twelve battmans. Of rubies of all sorts there are two battmans. Of emeraldes of all sorts, five battmans. Of eslime⁶ which stone cometh from Cathaya (China), one battman. Of stones of haren, which is a red stone, there are five thousand pieces. Of a other sorts, as corall, topasses, etc., there is an infinite number.

Jahanger's birth-name was Beem, after Shaikh Sadim, the hermit of Fa-hpur Beem, who had prophecies of his birth.
avages, vadeo savaas, 'an excess of our fourth.

² Jaungira rupees, two of which as I first conceived, were worth six ordinary rupias. But vades from a 20 to 1000. This is the ant of Jaungira, and should be compared with our give in the *Tibet* vol. 1, p. 6.

³ The *croon*, a Turke weight is here used for an Indian pound of p. 100. Each *vades* of the same way *Letters Rec. vol.*, vol. 1, p. 38.

⁴ For a pound weight of 11 battmans.

⁵ Jade (Persian *jashm*).

⁶ Cornelian (*yamami*).

Here followeth of the jewels wrought in gold

Of swords of Almane [German, *maiden*, with the hilts and scabbards set with divers sorts of rich stones of the richest sort, there are two thousand and two hundred. Of two sorts of poulders there bee two thousand. Of saddle drummes, which they use in their hawking, of these there are very rich, one of gold set with stones, five hundred. Of brooches for their heads [i.e. the *sarpesh*], whereinto their fentles be put, these be very rich, and of them there are two thousand. Of saddles of gold and silver set with stones there are one thousand, fifty pieces: there be five and twenty. This is a great lance covered with gold and the fluke set with stones, and these instead of their spoutes are carried when the king goeth to the warres. Of these there are five and twenty. Of kiltasses [Port. *quaisol* a *quaisa* k] of state, for to shadow him, there bee twenty. None in his empire dareth in any sort have any of these carried for his shal low but himselfe, of these I say, there are twenty. Of chains of esute there bee five, to say, three of silver and two of gold; and of other sorts of chains there bee an hundred of silver and gold; in all an hundred and five. Of rich glasses there bee two hundred. Of vases ~~for~~ were very faire and rich, set with jewels, there are an hundred. Of drinking cuppes five hundred, but fiftie very rich, that is to say, made of one piece of balace ruby, and also of emeralds [emeralds], of esura, of Turkeish stone [turquoises], and of other sorts of stones. Of chains of pearle and chains of all sorts of precious stones, and rings with jewels of rich diamonds, balace rubies, rubies and old emeralds, there is one infinite number, where only the keeper thereof knoweth. Of all sorts of plate, as dishes, cups, basins, pots, beakers of silver wrought, there are two thousand battmans. Of gold wrought, there are one thousand battmans.

Here followeth of all sorts of beasts

Of horses there are twelve thousand, whereof four bee of Persian horses, four thousand, of Turkeish horses six thousand,

* Turkish *top* or *high* a cup or standard. Blochmann gives an illustration of one, a high triangular *top* of the *top* *top* *top*.

and of Kistore (Kashmir) two thousand and are twelve thousand. Of elephants there be twelve thousand, whereof five thousand be teeth elephants and seven thousand of shee ones and yong ones, which are twelve thousand. Of camels there be two thousand. Of oxen for the cart and all other services there be foure thousand. Of mules (mules) there be one thousand. Of deere like beekes, for game and sport, there be three thousand. Of onces (see p. 17) for game there be foure hundred. Of egges for hunting, as grey-hounds and other there be foure hundred. Of hawks there are an hundred. Of buffaloes there be five hundred. Of all sorts of swines there be foure thousand. Of pigeons for sport of flying there be ten thousand. Of all sorts of singing birds there be foure thousand. Of bridles of all sorts, at an hours warning, in a readinesse to arme five and twentie thousand men.

His daily expences for his owne person, that is to say, for feeding of his cattell of all sorts, and amongst them some few elephants royall, and all other expences particularly his apparell, viaticke, and other petty expences for his house, amounts to fiftie thousand rapiers a day. The expence daily for a woman by the day is thirtie thousand rapiers.¹

All this written concerning his treasure, expences, and monthly pay is in his court or castle of Agra, and every one of the castles above-mentioned have their severall treasure, especially Lahor, which was not mentioned.

The custodie of this Mogoll Emperours is to take possession of his nobles treasure when they dye, and to bestow on his placed children what he pleaseth, but commonly he doeth well with them, possessing them with their fallow land, dividing it amongst them, and unto the eldest sonne he hath a very great respect, who in time receiveth the full

Jourdain says (p. 184) "The King is at greater charge in expence of his house and for his beasts, as horses, camels, elephants, and elephants. It was reported he kept twelve hundred elephants. The King's army of 100,000 men cost very much money. He spent in a year for food 1,000,000 rapiers (about 15,000,000 rials) and 100,000 slaves, and as much more for other things, but the close of money was so scarce that he could not believe and therefore he was ill."

title of his father. There was in my time a great friend and
 or prince, a Gentleman called Raja Jagmat,¹ upon whose goods
 the King's coming after his death, he was found (besides jewels
 and other treasure) to have sixtie mannes [manuels] in gold,
 and every manne in five and halfe pound weight. Also it is
 told me is that of all sorts of treasure excepting coine, to say,
 of all sorts of beads, and all other things of value, a small
 quantitie is daily brought before him. All things are severally
 divided into three hundred and sixtie parts, so that his daily
 hath a certaine number to say, of elephants, horses, camels,
 dronkaries, moxes, oxen, and all other, as also a certaine
 quantitie of jewels and so it continueth all the years long;
 for what is brought him to day is not seen againe til that day
 twelve moneth.

He hath three hundred elephants royall, which are elephants
 waiteon himselfe rideth: and when they are brought before
 him they come with great jollitie having some twentie or
 thirty men before them with small streamers. The elephants
 cloth or covering is very rich, either of cloth of gold or rich
 velvet. He hath following him his shee elephant, his whelpe
 or whelpes, and foure or five yong ones as pages, which will
 bee in number some sixe, some seven, and some eight or nine.
 These elephants and other cattel are dispersed among his
 nookes and men of sort to oversee them, the King allowing
 them for their expences a certaine quantitie, but some of
 them will take a great deale more than their allowance cometh
 unto. These elephants royall take tenne rupas every day in
 sugar, butter, graine, and sugar canes. These elephants are
 the gooddest and fairest of all the rest: and take withall, so
 managed that I saw with mine eyes when the King commanded
 one of his yong sonnes named Shariat (a child of a few yeeres
 of age) to goe to the elephant to be taken up by him with his
 sword, whome so delivering him to be kept at court and to
 him with his horse: and having done thus unto the King's sonne
 he afterwards did the like to many other children. When
 these elephants are shewed, if they who have the charge of
 them bring them lean, then are they checked and in disgrace,

¹ Raja Jagmat, son of Raja Bilhar Mah.

and so the more so like the better. And so it is with all things else, with I kind that every man's riveth to bring his quantitie in good liking, although hee spend of his owne.

When hee saith a progress or a riding, the compass of his letters may bee as much as the compass of London and more, and I may say that of a sort of people that follow the empire, there are two hundred thousand. There is provided as for yeable. This king is thought to be the greatest emperor of the East for wealth, land, and force of men, as also for horses, elephants, camels, and dromedaries. As for elephants of his owne and of his vassals, there are fiftie thousand, of whom the new ones are trained elephants for the warre, and these elephants of all beasts are the most understanding. I thought good here to say, I have seen a thing which was reported to me for verity, although it seems very strange. A wild plant having joined very hard, being cut to stay it was measured by us contrary, and one day finding the fellow as open by him, but out of his teeth having green came, sought him to ride, and the end of way of them with his feet, and taking the other end of the cane with his right hand, reached it toward the head of the fellow, who being fast as a peg, and his turban fallen from his head (the use of them being so warm, and long like warts) heooke head with the cane on his haire, which dragg'd them and withall falling for unto the earth he brought him upon the compass of his sword, he then presently killed him. Many other strange things are done by the Indians.

The king also infinite numbers of dromedaries, which are very swift to come with great speed to give an aid to any city, as the kings of India did, so that the citizens thought he had beene in Agra when he was at Amudavay, and he came from Agra thither in nine daies upon these dromedaries with twelve thousand eleven men. Chan-annan being then his general. The day being appointed for the battell, was a strange new sight of the kings arrivall, which make such a present faire unto the Gozerals that at that time they were overthrown, and conquered. This king hath diminished his campe captaines, who were Rusbootes, Rappots, or Gaudes.

* This was in the autumn of 1573.

and natural Indians and hath preferred the Mahometans
 overk sparded an void of resolutions to say sort that
 what this man's father came father Parasuraj of the
 Ikans this king Seem Seem beginning to come. He hath
 a new good captain yet retaining whom his father highly
 esteemed although they be out of favour with him because
 they upon his rebellion against his father they were not
 agreed upon coming his intent was thought for he could not
 have secured his father's dates and before his time to say
 come to the crown. At the that purpose being in Alibon
 the capital seat of a kingdom called Parbh consisting with
 eighty detached houses according to take Agrahar to have
 possession of the kingdom his father being taken at the warres
 of the city with understanding of his services preferred self his
 companying there and made not to send him to save his
 own. Before the king's departure to the warres he gave
 order to his son to go with his father upon Agrahar
 p. 100] that great road at Mevra was entering the party
 with them all to find the Prince but there was nothing to
 be gotten by and it showed and was better for him now
 he for was able to get upon Agrahar and possessed himself
 of the city and made himself king. There was
 no time to be lost. The Prince followed his course
 and would have proceeded at his father's and before over
 and given prevented his purpose at which arrived at
 Agrahar presently settled as some that he made never
 returned to the capital his father's house was a very low
 with it as he pleased of the himself for he had not
 built a fort. He was observing the valour of his father
 though it might be said that he did not stand to his father's
 enemy was after affronts answered him and imprisonment
 was made released and pardoned by reason of many friends
 his other vassals and others.

This Seem Parasuraj being in his rebellion his father's
 possession him and persuaded here apparent likelihood sent

As an example of Agrahar p. 100] the Head of the
 east was many can be seen of the Congress concerning the
 and part of Bihar.

For the sake of the name of the divided was the first of the

Cassero being eldest son to Selim Shah for his owne reasons [Marid and Dandy], younger brothers to Seem were all dead in Deccan and Candeur. Yet shortly after his father dyed, who by his death had had many of Seem possessing his rights. But Cassero, who was probably not appointed, attended his father, and rose with great triumph, yet was not able to retain after the losse of many thousand men on both sides, but was taken and remaineth still in prison in the kings pallace, yet blinde as all men report, and was so esteemed to be blinded by his father.¹ So when that time being now eight yeares after, he had commanded to put ad some of his confederates to death with sundry kinds of death some to be hanged some spiced some to have their heads chopped off and some to be torne by elephants. Since which time he hath reigned in quiet, but ill as over of the greater part of his subjects who stand greatly in feare of him. His custome is every yeare to be out two moneths on hunting, as is before specified. When he meaneth to begin his journey of coming forth of his palace hee get up on a horse, it is a signe that he goeth for the warres; but if he get up upon an elephant or pashanah, it was bee but an hunting voyage.

My wife, in the time that I was one of his courtiers, have seen many cruell deeds done by him. Five times a weeke he entertaineth his brave elephants to fight before him; and in the time of their fighting, either coming or going out, many times men are killed or dangerously hurt by these elephants. But if any be grievously hurt which might very well escape yet nevertheless hath bin cast into the river beside commanding it, saying dispatch him, for as long as he liveth he wil doe a thing else but curse me and therefore it is better that he dye presently. I have seene many in this kind. Again, hee delighteth to see men executed by selfe and torne in peeces with elephants. He put to death in my time his secretary, only upon suspicion that Camachanna should write unto the Deccan king, who being sent for and examined about this matter denied it. whereupon the King,

¹ *Hyndustan*. The statement that Akbar revenged him as his heir is incorrect.

² See Fluch's account.

not having patience, arose from his seat and with his sword gave him his deadly wound and afterwards delivered him to bee torne by elephants.

Likewise it happened to one who was a great friend of mine in China on it, having under his charge the Kings warre robe and all woollen cloake and all sorts of mercery and a China dish, that a fine China dish (which cost more than a rapier or forse five or six of eight) was broken in this way first it tripe by a mischance (when the King was in his progress), being pushed amongst other things on a cartwheel, which fell and broke all the whole parcell. This nobleman knowing how dearly the King loved this dish above the rest, presently sent one of his trusty servants to China-machana (Chien) over him to seeke for another saying that before he should remember that dish, he would returne with another like unto it, but his extra care was conaine, for the King two yeares after remembred this dish, and his man was not yet come. Now when the King heard that the dish was broken he was in a great rage, commanding him to be brought before him and to be beaten by two men with two great whips made of cords, and after that he had received one hundred and twenty of these lashes, he commanded his porters, who be appointed for that purpose, to beate him with their small edges, till a great many of them were broken; at the least twenty men were beating of him till the poore man was thought to be dead, and then he was mowed out by the heels and remanded to prison. The next day the King demanded whether he was living, a tower was made that he was, whereupon hee commanded him to be carried into perpetual prison. But the Kings some being his friend, freed him of that and absolved of his father that he might bee sent home to his owne house and there be cured. So after two moneths he was reasonably well recovered and came before the King who presently commanded him to depart the court and never come againe before him until he had found such a like dish, and that hee travell for China-machana to seeke it. The King all wiled him five thousand rapies towards his charges and besides

¹ Henshaw, who tells the story with some variations, says (H. 600) (p. 105) "Terry had a good recollection to the question" (p. 118).

retaining one fourth part of his living till he should be able to maintain him in his travels. He being departed and fourteen months on his travell was not yet come home: but newes came of him that the King of Persia, called Akbar, was called for purposes sake absent at home when at my departure was on his way homeward.

I likewise in my thourt it happened that a Pattan, a man of good stature, came to one of the Kings sonnes, named Sultan Peris, to entreat him to bestow somewhat on him by purchase delivered to one of the Princes chiefe men: at the delivery whereof the Prince caused him to stand merry and demanding of him whether hee would serve him, he answered no, for he thought that the Prince would not grante him so much as he would aske. The Prince seeing him to be a pretty fellow and manly appeared, desired him saying what would content him. Hee told him plainly that hee would neither serve my father nor him under a thousand rupsias a day, which is 100 pound sterling. The Prince asked what was it for that he demanded so much. He replied, I seek tryall of me with all sorts of weapons, either on horsebacke or on foote, and for my sufficient command in the warres: if I do not performe as much as I speake, let me dye for it. The time being come for the Prince to go to his father, he gave over to a Turk commanding the town to be forth coming. At night the Kings custom being to drinke, the Prince perceiving his father to be merry, told him of this man, so the King commanded him to be brought before him. Now while he was sent for, a wilde lyon was brought in, a very great one, strongly chained and led by a dozen men and keepers, and while the King was viewing this lyon the Pattan came in, at whose sight the Prince presently remembered his father. The King demanding of this Pattan whence he was, and of what parentage, and what valour was in him, that he should demand so much wages, his answer was that the King should make tryall of him. That I will with the King goe wrestle and buffet with this lyon. The Pattans answer was that this was a wild beast, and to goe barelie upon him without weapon would be no triall of his valour. The King not regarding his speech, commanded him

to buckie with the lion—who did so, wrasting and buffeting with the lyon a pretty while, and then the lyon being loose from his keepers, but not from his chains, got the poor man within his claws and tore his body in many parts, and with his pawes tore the one half of his face so that this valiant man was killed by this wilde beast.¹ The King, not yet contented, but desirous to see more sport, sent for ten men that were of his horse-race in pay being that night on the watch for it is the custome of all those that receive pay or living from the King to watch once a weeke none excepted if they be well and in the citie. These men one after another were to buffet with the lyon, who were all grievously wounded, and it cost three of them their lives. The King continued three monthes in this vaine when he was in his labours, for whose pleasure sake many men lost their lives and many were grievously wounded. So that ever after untill my coming away, some fifteene young lyons were made tame and played one with another before the King, frisking betweene riens eggs and no man hurt in a long time.

Likewise he cannot abide that any man should have any precious stone of value, for it is death if he know it not at that present time and that he hath the refusal thereof. His jeweller a Bannian, named Herranand (Hira Nand) had bought a diamond of three mettegas,² which cost one hundred thousand rupias, which was not so closely done but newes came to the King. Herranand likewise was befriended, being presently acquainted therewith—who before the King sent for him, came unto him and challenged the King that he had often promised him that he would come to his house. The King answered that it was true. Herranand therefore replied that now was the time for that he had a faire present to bestow upon His Majestic, for that he had bought a stone of such a weight. The King smiled and said, thy lucke was good to prevent me. So preparation was made, and to the Bannians house he went. By this means the King hath ingrossed all faire stones, that no man can buy from five carats upwards with

¹ This anecdote is also told by Jourdain (1669).

² Arabic *misakā*, a weight of about 73 grains.

out his love for he had the refusal of all, and giveth not by either part so much as their value. There was a valet of a friend of my acquaintance that was sent for to come and find three hundred and a halfe who delivered a strong force comend to make powder wherewith to cut the other diamond. They brought him a chest, as he said of three spannes long and a spanne and half broad and a spanne and half deep full of diamonds of all size and sorts, yet could he find never any one for his purpose, but one of five ruties which was not very foule neither.

He is exceeding rich in diamonds and all other precious stones, and usually weareth every day a faire bracelet of great price, and that which he weareth this day till his time be come about to weare it againe he weareth not the same, that is to say all his faire jewels are divided into certaine quantitie or proportion to weare every day. He also weareth a chaine of pearle, very faire and good, and another chaine of emeralds and balace rubies. He hath another Jewell that cometh round about his tymbant full of faire diamonds and rubies. It is not much to bee wondered that he is so rich in jewels and in gold and silver when he hath braped together the treasure and Jewels of so many kings as his forefathers have conquered, who likewise were a long time in gathering them together, and all came to his hands. Again, all the money and jewels which his nobles heape together when they doe come ab into him who giveth what he listeth to the noblenes wives and children, and this is done to all them that receive pay or living from the King. India is rich in silver, for all nations bring in and carry away commodities for the same, and thus it is buried in India and goeth not out, so it is thought that once in twentie yeeres it cometh into the Kings power. All the lands in his monarchie are at his disposing, wherewith and taketh at his pleasure. If I have lands at hand being sent into

Jordan (p. 164) says the same, but adds that dealings took place *every day*.

² These lands which are let pay to the king two thirds of the profit and the other which he taketh in fee, one third on a net, i. e. the king himself, he would be not more fertile land than a *desert* (see note on *dominions*). (Marginal note.)

the warres at Decan, another hath the lands, and I am to receive none in Decan, or thereabouts, neere the place where I am whether t be in the warres, or that I be sent about any other businesse for any other country. And men are to looke well unto their doings: for if they be found fault in, never so little a matter, they are in danger of loosing their lands; and if complaints of injustice which they doe be made unto the King, it is well if they escape with losse of their lands.

He is very severe in such causes, and with a severitie punisheth those captaines who suffer out-lawes to give assault unto their cities without resisting. In my time there were some eight captaines who had their living upon the borders of Bengala, in a chief city called Pattana [Patna], which was suffered to be taken by out-lawes, and they all fled, but that city was againe restored by a great captaine, who was commander of a country neere thereabouts, who tooke all those captaines that fled and sent them to the King to use punishment upon them at his pleasure. So they were brought before the King in chains and were presently commanded to be shaven, both head and beard, and to weare womens apparell riding upon asses with their faces backwards, and so carried about the city. This being done, they were brought before the King againe and there whipped, and sent to perpetual prison: and this punishment was inflicted upon them in my sight.¹ He is severe enough, but all helpeth not: for his poore riats (*rattas*, a cultivator) or clownes complaine of injustice done them and cry for justice at the Kings hands. They come to a certaine place where a long rope is fastened unto two pillars neere unto the place where the King sitteth in justice.² This rope is hanged full of bells, plated with gold: so that the rope being shaken the bells are heard by the King, who smecth to know the cause and doth his justice accordingly. At his first coming to the crowne he was more severe than now he is; where is the cause that the country is so full of out-lawes and thieves that almost a man cannot stirre out of doores throughout

¹ For this account and the punishment of the criminals who failed in their duty, see the *Tūmāk*, vol. I, p. 173.

² See *Chungār* - *chun* - *ant* of *Chun* - *ant* in the *Tūmāk*, vol. I, p. 7.

all his dominions without great forces, for they are all become rebels.

There is one great Ruzane [see p. 100] betwixt Aggra and Amrawar, which is inhabited as much later as a good king come, and all the forces the Mogul hath cannot bring him in, for his forces are upon the mountains. He is twenty thousand strong in horse and fifty thousand strong in foot. And many of these rebels are in all his dominions, but this is one of the greatest. There are many risen at Candahar, Cabul, Moldan [Multan] and Sinde, are in the kingdom of Bokara, Bakh, Bengany likewise, Decan, and Guzerat are full, so that a man can travell no way for a time. Their government is in such a barbarous kind, and cruel, exacting upon the cowmen, which causeth them to be so long strong. The fault is in the raffe, for a man cannot continue his life a yeere in his kingdome if it is taken from him and given unto another, or else the King taketh it for himself, if it be rich ground and likely to yield much, making exchange for a worse place, or as he is befriended of the Vair. By this means he racketh the poore to get from them what he can, who still thinke it every yeere to be put out of his place. But there are many who continue a long time in one place, and if they remaine but sixe yeeres their wealth which they gaine is infinite, if it be a thing of any sort. The custome is, they are allowed so much lying to maintaine that port which the king hath given them, that is to say, they are allowed twenty rupias of exchequer horse by the moneth and two rupias by the moneth for every horse futter for the maintenance of their table. As thus, a captain that hath five thousand horse to maintaine in the warres hath likewise of fame other five thousand, which he is not to maintaine in the warres, but onely for his table, allowed upon every horse by the moneth two rupias, and the other five thousand, twenty rupias by the moneth. And this is the pay which the greater part of them are allowed.¹

Now here I meane to speake a little of his manners and customes in the court. First in the morning about the breake of day he is at his beades, with his face turned to the west ward. The manner of his praying, when he is at Aggra, is in a private

¹ *Rox. Embassy*, p. 110 gives the rate as £20 per annum per horse.

faire roome, upon a goodly jet stone,¹ having onely a Persian
Lamb-skinne under him, having also some eight chaimes of
beads, every one of them containing faire hundred. The
beads are of redd pearle, hammer rubies, diamonds, rubies,
emeralds, hyacinthes, eschewel and cora. At the upper end of
this jet stone the pictures of Our Lady and Christ are placed,
graven in stone; so he turneth over his beads, and saith
three thousand two hundred words, according to the number
of his beads, and then his prayer is ended. After he hath
done he sheweth himselfe to the people, receiving their
salutes² or good morrowes, unto whom multitudes resort
every morning for this purpose. This done, hee sleepeeth two
houres more, and then dinneth and passeth his time with his
women, and at noone hee sheweth himselfe to the people againe,
sitting till three of the clocke, viewing and seeing his pastimes
and sports made by men, and fighting of many sorts of beasts,
every day sundry kinds of pastimes. Then at three of the
clocke, all the nobles in generall (that be in Agra and are well)
resort unto the court, the King coming forth in open audience,
sitting in his seat-royall, and every man standing in his degree
before him, his chiefest sort of the nobles standing within a
redd rayle, and the rest without. They are all placed by his
Lieutenant-Generall. This redd rayle is three steppes higher
than the place where the rest stand, and within this redd
rayle I was placed, amongst the chiefest of all. The rest are
placed by officers, and they likewise be within another very
spacious place rayled, and without that rayle stand all sorts
of horsemen and soldiers that belong unto his capitaines,
and all other commens. At these rayles there are many doores
kept by many porters, who have white rods to keepe men in
order. In the middest of the place, right before the King,
standeth one of his sherifes, together with his master hang-
man, who is accompanied with forty hangmen wearing on
their heads a certaine quilted cap, different from all others,
with an hatchet on their shoulders, and others with all sorts
of whips being there, ready to doe what the King commandeth.

¹ The famous black 'slate' throne still to be seen at Agra on the terrace
of the fort. An account of the throne in the *Tales*, vol. 1, p. 177.

² Salutations. *Arabic* *salawat*, *peace*.

The King heareth all causes in this place, and stayeth some two houres every day (these Kings of India sit daily in justice every day, and on the Tuedayes doe their executions). Then he departeth towards his private place of prayer. His prayer being ended foure or five sorts of very well dressed and roasted meates are brought him, of which, as hee pleaseth, he eateth until he stay his stomacke; drinking once of his strong drinke. Then he cometh forth into a private roome, where none can come but such as himselfe now nateth (for two yeeres together I was one of his attendants here). In this place he drinketh other five cupfulls, which is the portion that the physicians alotted him. This done he eateth opium, and then he ariseth; and being in the height of his drinke he layeth him downe to sleepe, every morn departing to his owne home. And after he hath slept two dayes, they awake him and bring his supper to him, at which time he is not able to feed himselfe, but it is thrust into his mouth by others. And thus is about one of the clocke and then he sleepeth the rest of the night.

Now in the space of these five cups he doth many idle things, and whatsoever he doth, either without or within, drunken or sober, he hath writers who by turnes set downe everything in writing which he doth, so that there is nothing passeth in his lifetime which is not noted, but not so much as his going to the necessary, and how often he lieth with his women and with whom, and all this is done unto this end, that when he dieth these writings of all his actions and speeches which are worthy to be set downe might be recorded in the chronicles. At my being with him he made his brothers children Christians; the doing whereof was not for any zeale he had to Christianitie as the Fathers and all Christians thought, but upon the prophesie of certain learned Gentiles, who told him that the sones of his body should be disinherited and the children of his brother should rule; and therefore he did it to make these children hateful to all Moores, as Christians are odious in their sight, and that they being once Christians, when any such matter should happen, they should find no subjects. But God is omnipotent

and can turne the rinking of these Christians into a good ende, if it be His pleasure.

This King amongst his children hath one called Sultan Shuarar, of seven yeeres of age; and his father on a day, being to goe some whether to solace himselfe, demanded of him whether hee would goe with him. The child answerd that if it pleased His Highnesse he would either goe or stay, as the pleasure of his father was. But because his answer was not that with all his heart he would waite upon His Majestie, he was very well buffeted by the King, and that in such sort that no child in the world but would have cryed, which this child did not. Wherefore his father demanded why he cryed not. He answered that his nurses told him that it was the greatest shame in the world for princes to cry when they were beaten: and ever since they nurtured me in this kind, saith he, I never cryed, and nothing shall make me cry to the death. Upon which speech his father, being more vexed, strooke him againe and caused a bodkin to bee brought him, which he thrust through his cheekes, but as this would not make him cry, still againe he bled very much, which was admired of all that the father should doe thus unto his child: and that he was so stout that hee would not crye. There is great hope of this child to exceed all the rest.

This emperor keepeeth many feasts in the yeare, but two feasts especially may be nominated. The one called the Nouroos [Nouruz], which is in honour of the New-Yeares day. This feast continueth eighteene daies, and the wealth and riches are wonderfull that are to be seene in the decking and setting forth of every mans room or place where he longeth when it is his turne to watch; for every noblemann hath his place appointed him in the palace. In the middlest of that spacious place I speake of, there is a rich tent pitched, but so rich that I thinke the like cannot bee found in the world. This tent is curiously wrought and hath many serimans [Hind *shamiana*, an awning] joyning round about it of most curious wrought velvet, embroidered with gold, and many of them are of cloath of gold and silver. These serimans be shadowes to keepe the sunne from the compass of this tent. I may say it is at the least two acres of ground, but so richly

spread with silk and good carpets and hangings in the price-
 paid place, rich as rich velvet, embroidered with gold pearls
 and precious stones can make it. Within it five chairs
 of estate are placed, most rich to behold, where at his pleasure
 the King sitteth. There are likewise private rooms made
 for his Queenes, most rich, where they sit and see all but
 are not seen. So remain about this tent the entourage of all
 may be seen of five hundred of ground. Every principall noble-
 man hath his room and decketh it, likewise every man
 according to his ability, striveth who may become the room
 richest. The King when he doth affect, cometh to his
 chambers rooms and is most sumptuously feasted there,
 and at his departure is presented with the richest jewels and
 toys that they can find, but because he will not receive
 any thing at that time as a present, he cometh forth his
 'To serve to pay what his physicians have taken for his
 which are answered at half the price. Every one and all of
 his nobles provide toys and rare things to give him at this
 feast, so commonly at this feast every man has estate to
 remember. Two days of this feast the better sort of the
 women come to take the pleasure thereof, and this feast
 beginneth the beginning of the month of March. The other
 feast is some forty monthes after which is called the feast
 of his birth day. In this every man striveth who may be
 the richest in apparel and jewels. After many sports and
 pastimes performed in his palace becometh to be another feast
 with all the better sort of his nobles, where every man pre-
 senteth a jewell into his mother according to his estate.
 After the banquet is ended the King goeth into a very fair
 room, where a cabinet of beauteous is charged with op-
 pernament for him to see, the other side being filled with
 divers things, that is to say silver good, divers sorts of
 groons of gold, and so of every kind of metall a little
 and with all sorts of precious stones some. In this he
 weigheth himself with these things, which the next day
 are given to the poore, and all may be valued to be worth

¹ But not value as I have done in this journey, see in *Journal*,
 pt. 1, ch. 1. In *Journal*, p. 100, I say and your brother, the name
 of *Sagundia* of *Sagundia*.

ten thousand pounds. This day before he goeth unto his mothers lease, every man bringeth him his present, which is thought to be ten times more worth then that which he giveth to the poore. Thus done every man departeth unto his home.

His custome is that when you petition him for any thing you must not come empty handed but give him some toy or other, whether you write or no. By the gift you gave him he knoweth that you would demand some thing of him, so after enquiry is made, if he seeth it convenient, he granteth it.

The custome of the Indians is to take their deare, as you have seen in other nations, and at their burning many of their wives will burne with them because they will bee registred in their bookes for sumers and most modest and loving wives who leaving all worldly affaires, content themselves to live no longer then their husbands. I have scene many proper women brought before the King when by his commandment they have burne without his leave and sight of them. I remembre of Agna. When any of these countries bee dooly perswaded with many promises of gifts and living if they will live but in my time no perswasion could prevail but burne they would. The King seeing that all would not serve giveth his leave for her to be carried to the fire where she burneth herselfe alive with her dead husband.

Likewise his custome is, when any great noble man hath been absent from him two or three yeeres, if they come in favour and have performed well, he receiveth them in manner and forme following. First the noble man stayeth at the gate of the palace till the Vizir and Lieutenant-General and Knight Martind come to accompany him unto the King. Then he is brought to the gate of the outermost rayles, whereof I have spoken before, where he standeth in the view of the King in the middle betweene these two nobles. Then he toucheth the ground with his hand and also with his head, very gravely, and doth thus three times. This done, he kneeleth downe touching the ground with his forehead, which being once done he is carried forward towards

the King and in the Churche as is used to do thus reverence
again. Then he cometh to the doore of the red Rayles doing
the like reverence the third time, and having thus done, he
cometh within the red rayes and doth it once more upon the
carpets. Then the King commandeth him to come up the
staires or ladder of seven steps, that he may embrace him,
where the King most lovingly embraceth him before all the
people whereby they do take notice that he is in the Kings
favour. The King having done this, he then cometh downe
and is placed by the Lieutenant General according to his
degree. Now if he come in baggage, through excusations
made against him he hath none of these honours from the
King, but is placed in his place till he come to his tryall.
This King is very much adored of the people commonly
in so much that they will spread their bodies all upon the
ground, rubbing the earth with their faces on both sides.
They use many other superstitious and asperities which
I omit, leaving them for other travel in which shall come
from thence hereafter.

After I had written this there came into my memory another feast, commemorated at the fathers funeral which is kept at Annapolis where likewise himself, with all his posterity were to be buried. Upon that day there is great store of victuals dressed and much money given to the poor. This sepulchre may be counted one of the most monuments of the work. It hath been thus forty seven years a building and it is thought it will not be finished these seven years more: a sliding gates and walls and other needfull things for the beautifying and setting of it for it. The least that works there day are three thousand people, but thus much I will say, that one of our workmen was dispatched more then twice of them. The sepulchre is some three quarters of a mile about made square. It hath seven lights built, every light outtower for the other, till you come to the top where as here is. An old outmost gate

¹ Akbar's famous tomb at Sikandra, about six miles NW of Agra (cf. Finch's account).

13 The maximum and minimum were 102.3 and 101.1.

before y^e come to the sepulchre there is a most stately
 palace building. The compassse of the wall joyning to this
 gate of the sepulchre and garding, being within may be
 at the least three miles.¹ This sepulchre is some foure miles
 distant from the citie of Agra.

¹ Hawkins is not very accurate in his statements. The base of the
 central building measures about 600 feet on each of the four sides. There
 are 10 stories, measured on each side of the garden is about 3½ furlongs,
 making 14 miles in all. The stately palace is presumably the principal
 gateway of the enclosure.

Captain Finch himself proceeded to Agra. Finch's experiences while at the port are fully related in his *Journal*, supplemented by a letter from him to Hawkins in July 1609, printed at p. 23 of volume 1 of *Letters Received by the East India Company*. In January 1610, in obedience to a summons from Hawkins, he left Surat for Agra, where he arrived early in April. Towards the close of the year he was dispatched on a short expedition to Bayana for the purpose of buying a stock of radig. Here, according to *Journal*, p. 156, an incident happened which gave some offence at court. The Emperor's mother, or rather, acting under her protection, carried on extensive trading operations, and at this time a vessel belonging to her was being taken for a voyage to Mokha. A merchant had accordingly been sent to Bayana to buy radig, and it had nearly concluded his bargain when Finch arrived. No Indian would have dared to complete in such a case, but the Englishman, not scrupled to be against the Queen Mother's agent and so, laid away the transaction, with the result that the aggrieved adventurer to the Emperor and Hawkins's position at court suffered accordingly.

Finch's return to Agra was quickly followed by his departure for Lahore to make sale on the Company's behalf of the radig he had purchased at Bayana. Travelling by way of Delhi, Allahabad, and Sultanpore, he reached his destination early in February 1611. Lahore was at that time second only to Agra in importance, and he remembered the Mughal capitals together as the chief seats of the Great Mogul, and our author's description of the palace before it was altered by Shah Jahan is of great interest. In this city Finch remained until at least August 28 of the same year, which is the last date given in his narrative. Its sudden breaking off suggests that at this point he found that he had filled up the last blank sheet of his notebook, and was consequently obliged to make his first rough drafts in a second book, or in loose paper, unfortunately lost or destroyed at the time of his death. The rest of his text is occupied with notes which Finch had done as he inserted from time to time on the back pages of his journal—a common practice among the factors. Purchas printed them in the order in which he found them, but in all probability they were entered in the reverse order. Thus the account of radigs from Agra to places lying to the eastwards (p. 155) and the descriptions of that city and of Sikandra were doubtless written during Finch's stay in the latter. Next he inserted the article on Lahore from Nicholas Calt of which he had written from Agra to Surat by way of Ameer (p. 170). These notes have

* The document printed at p. 28 of the same volume, without any notice at all, and, as undoubtedly by Finch.

consul, Styles effected his escape and after a dangerous journey succeeded in reaching Aleppo at the beginning of October 1612. The friendly vice-consul at Bagdad did his best to get the Bashaw to disgorge his prey and with much trouble managed to get from him a portion of it which seems, however, to have been scarcely more than sufficient to defray the expenses of the suit and the claims of certain creditors. For this apparel and the bulk at least of his papers were also saved and delivered to Haggars, who forwarded them to the East India Company. This explains how the Rev Samuel Purchas, when searching the Company's archives for materials, came across Finch's 'large journal' and, recognizing its value, printed it almost in full as the fourth chapter of the fourth book of part one of the *Pilgrimage*. The subsequent fate of the manuscript is unknown.

Finch's narrative is here quoted as given by Purchas except that the voluminous account of the outward voyage is omitted, as having no bearing upon India. It may be added that the portion relating to the Punjab has been reproduced by Sir Edward Maclagan in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* (vol. 1 no. 2) accompanied by some useful notes, which (as mentioned in the text) still more recently Sir Aurel Stein has examined in the same periodical. Finch's references to Kashmir and Central Asia.

Mr. W. H. Moreland, C.S.I., C.I.E., has been good enough to read this section and make some useful suggestions for its annotation.

THE eight and twentieth of August, 1608, Captaine Hawkins with the merchants and certaine others landed at Surat, where the Captaine was received in a coach and carryed before the Dawne [Diwan]. Wee had poore lodging allotted us, the porters lodge of the cusome house, whither the next morning came the Customers, who searched and tumbled our trunks to our great dislike, which had yet brought ashore only necessaries. We were invited to dinner to a merchant where wee had great cheer, but in the midst of our banquet sower sweeter, for hee was the man that had sustayned almost all the losse in a ship that Sir Edward Melborne tooke. The captaine also of that ship dined with us. Which when it was there told us, the Captaine [Hawkins] answered that hee never heard of such a matter and rather judged it done by Flan-

mings, but they said that they knew certainly that they were English, deploring their hard fortunes and affirming that there were thieves in all countries, nor would they impute that fault to honest merchants. This speech somewhat revived us. The day after Mede Calce [Malik Kall], the captain of that ship aforesaid, invited us to supper.

The second of October we imbarqued our goods and provisions, gave Shek Abdelreheime [see p. 72] a present, and got dispatch to depart, the Customers denying leave till they had searched the ship whether she had discharged all her goods, to ship any new; but meeting with frigats, they, supposing them Maahars,¹ durst not adventure their own river. These frigats were Portugals, which desired us to come talk with them, and Master Bucke ready doing it they detain'd him, and after (1 and Nicholas Little being ashore) Master Myrlow and the rest beganne to flee. The rickson would have fought, which he would not permit, but running aground through ignorance of the channed, they were taken going on the sandie island by Portugall treacherie, and the fault of some of themselves, ameleeting with Master Bucke. But the gunne [i.e. ging or crew] put off the pinnace and notwithstanding the Portugall bullets, rowed her to Surat. Four escaped by swimming and got that night to Surat, besides Nicholas Little and my selfe, neere twentie miles from the place. Yet had we resisted we wanted shot and a number and armour they very much exceeded us. The fourth, the captain of the frigats sent a revling letter to the Governour of the towne, calling us Lutherans and thieves, and said we were Flemmings and not English, charging him (for continuance of their friendship) to send aboard the Captaine with the rest of us, which Abdelreheime not only denied, but in the Mogals name commanded him to render the goods and men. The fifth came a captaine of one of the frigats, which used peremptorie words and before the Governour stood upon it that the king of Syria was lord of ~~these seas~~, and that they had in commission from him to take all that came in those parts without his passe.

¹ The pirates of the Malabar coast, whose widespread depredations were a trouble to commerce down to the middle of the eighteenth century.

The thirteenth, the Governour called all the chiefe merchants of the towne upon their conscience to value our cloth (before carryed to his house) which they did at a faire order rate, the Governour affirming that hee must and would have it (the Captaine [Hawkins] denying his consent). On the sixteenth, we were forced to accept for some of our cloth in their hands, promise of a little more, and were permitted to carrie away the rest, causing us to leave fiftie pieces and fourteene Dezenshute kersies for the King, with nine and twentie other kersies, and fiftene clothes for Shek Ferred [Sunkh Farid], keeping also the foure clothes which wee reserved for presents for the King. We were otherwise molested by a contention betwixt Shek Ferred and Moerow Bowcan (or Mourch Can) about the custome-house, that wee could not get our goods from thence. Wee heard that the Portugals sold our goods for halfe that they cost. Our men were sent to Goa.

The fifteenth of December, came Mo Bowcan with a Jesuite, Padre Peridro. To this our captaine shewed kindness, for hope of our men, to the other he gave presents. Both dealt treacherously in requital, the Jesuite (as it was reported by Mo. Bowcan himselfe) offering a Jewell which he said was worth two hundred thousand rials, to betray us. This day came to us H. Carlesse, an Englishman, who had long lived amongst the Portugals, from whom hee now fledde for fear of punishment for carrying necessaries to the Dutch at Muselpatan, desiring to bee entertayned, which we did with much respectation.¹

The seven and twentieth, Mo Bowcan desired great abatements upon our cloth, or else hee would retorne it (and (will wee will wee) abated two thousand seven hundred and fiftie rials more before hee would give us licence to fetch up the rest of our goods to make sales. My selfe was very ill of the bloody fluxe (whereof Master Dorchester² dyed) of which that Englishman Carlesse (next under God) recovered me. I learned of him many matters, as namely of the great

¹ Jourdain mentions this man and says that 'there was greates doubt of his honestie'.

² John Dorchester a merchant who had come out in the *Hector*.

pre-arranged the last voyage to the Portugals by the Hollanders who took before Malacca with six or seven ships and as the two would fight their kings by sea and land there was carried to the Vice-Roy then before Achen accompanied with all the generals and his landing with an extraordinary fleet of ships galleys and frigates and four thousand soldiers being stationed at each king to take Achen and there to build a castle and appoint an Ambassador and thence to go and spend for [Holland] and thence to the Moluccas for giving the Hollanders refuge being intended to rescue out the Holland nation in those parts for which purpose sent two thousand Castilians from the Moluccas. Antonio Hartman the legation with a Malacca and sent word for the present disturbance upon which the Vice-Roy wrote from Achen (which otherwise had been spied) warned the Dutch General advertised good men and artillery aboard and went forth to meet him, where after a long and bloody fight with much loss on both sides the Dutch departed contented to stop the banks of their small lake otherwise impish. The Portugals thus, this support and all the equipments and baggage of their victorie not looking any more for the Hollanders who having stopped their looks at their war regiments returned upon the Portugals whom they found discomfited and feasting ashore where they sailed and burned the whole fleet taking a small expedition and did not the Vice-Roy before sent one ships on some other service they had been and were utterly exhausted. After ten full years sickness in the city that now is that ended amongst which the Vice-Roy was one and shortly after the departure of the Spaniards in the Moluccas so that their strength was laid in the dust and the Arch bishop [Mexico de Mendez] came and set on board the Vice-Roy.

Thus last were the Malabares vexed the Portugals and took or make of them at three sixtie sale or there. This were

* Most of the events here mentioned took place in 1606.

* Dom Martin Affonso de Castro.

A young captain of a Portuguese Port of India.

* André Furtado de Mendonça.

See also the account of the Malabares in the next chapter.

also was expected a Vice-Roy to come with a strong fleet to drive the Hollanders out of India. This fleet consisted of nine shippes of warre and six for the voyage: they were separated in the gulf of Corica and never met together after. Two of them came to Muscambique where they were fired of the Hollanders who also distressed the castle but could not take it and the time of the Vice-roy putting their departure they set sayle for Goa to the number of fiftene shippes and one pinnasse where they rode at the barre shallowing the great captain Andrew Hartado, who durst not visit them. Another of that voyage having advise that the Hollanders rode at the barre put to the northward where they presently landed their money and goods and set fire of their shippes to save the Dutch labour and lastly the souldiers fell together by the eaves for the sharing of the money. This fleet departing from Goa sailed alongst the coast of Malabar spoiling and burning all they could meet with. There was report of leave given them by the same king [see p. 45] to build a castle at Chaul [sic].

This month there was also news of an Ormuz ship taken by the Muschibares and three frigates and shortly after a fleet of twentie five frigats from Cochier where sixteen were taken and burnt by the Malabars, which the rest saved if possible spoke being escape: also several frigats and galleons of the Muschibares spoiling on their coast. In January 1609 came other news of thirte frigats which put for Diu richly laden taken by the Muschibares being eight thirte masters of these seas. They are good souldiers and carry in each frigate one hundred souldiers and in their galleons two hundred.

The first of February the Captaine [Hawkins] departed with fiftie persons and certayne horsemen. About this time was great store touching the Queene Malacca ship which was to be taken for Macao. The Portugals then riding at the barre with two and twentie frigats threatened to carry her to Diu. At length they fell to compounding the Portugals demanding an hundred thousand manches for her carter Port carter, of p. 163 or passe and after twentie thousand, at last taking one thousand cashs and other money with divers presents.

For mee Part p. 164. As Hawkins tells us "So, there were four souldiers in each of the houses of defence.

which the Mogalls were faine to give them. Mo. Howtan gave me false words, but the deed was in his heart. he intended nothing lesse indeed then payment of his debts, seeking also to delude some others by selling striking off by new accounts seventene thousand of ~~the~~ and forty thousand. I thought he meant to shift if he could and pay nothing secretly departing the towne, owing much to certain Barons who must get it when they can. At last I got his cheet order. Had *cloths* for some, though with great disparagement, esteeming halfe better secured then to endanger all.

The six and twentieth of March 1609, it was here reported that Malacca was besieged with three ships of Holland; in answer of which the Vice Roy assembled all these his own Indian forces appointing Andrew Hurtado generall being the more cringe by newes of a new Vice Roy (see p. 131) with for their sake to winter at Masateague. Mentel with a ship of Cambaya which had been at Queda, came for Cagay, which the Portugalls taking without virtue made prize of. The Customers at that time by new process kept a night to make prize in great part of us. I was also in the beginning of April taken with a burning fever which drew from me much blood besides ten dayes fasting with a little rice, and after six feverish nights tormented me. The next month I was visited againe with a burning fever.

The twelfth of May came newes that Melik Anbar, King of Deccan had besieged the citie of Aurangabad (which had been the metropolis of that kingdome conquered by the Acabars) with two and twentie thousand horse, and that after divers assaults the Mogalls made shew to devery up the citie upon condition that hee would withdraw his army some forty or five coss (*koss* see p. 18) from the sea, that they might passe with more assurance with baggage and baggage, which being done they suddenly issued forth with all their forces upon the unprovided enemy and made a great slaughter, but feared

* Foulchier should wrote Amundanager, i. e. Almundanager. Melik Anbar was an Akbarian by birth, was not the King but the chief minister and governor. Akbar had subdued Almundanager in the year 1600. For an account of the capitulation mentioned in the text see the *Tuzuk*, vol. 4, p. 181.

hee would bee revenged on those parts which were esse able to resist. The Canchanna gathered great forces, and demanded of Surat three hundred thousand m[ahmāds] towards the charge, sending also for the Governour an expert Deccan souldier.

The twentieth of June mine news was of the arrivall of five Kinges at Can. and of the Vice Royes death. whereupon Andrew Herta was chosen Vice Roy, being the only stay left of all those parts, and reported a brave souldier. He presently gave order for shipping to be built, intending after the breaking up of winter to make a bult or shaft with the H. danahs, which were now reported to lye before Masacca with nineteene ships. The Portugall ships in the way had met with one of this towne and, finding her without portes, brought her with them as prize for Can. where on the barre shee was rust away, whereupon the Governour for Can-Channa, and the Customer for Mo. Bawean, seized on Tappahis the owner a Baman, for money owing to them; where by asse we lost his debt to us, for which we may thank the Portugall.

The twentieth of July, Sha Selu commanded Can Channa and Marisengo,² two great commanders of his, to invade all the Kingdomes from hence to the south, even to Cape Comor, for which a huge armie was assembling. In resistance of whom three great kings were combured: the King of Deccan [Ammangart whose chiefe citie is Geneiro³], the King of Visapor [Bijāpur] and the King of Gouconon (whose chiefe citie is Braganavar⁴) who also gathered great forces, making head neare Bramport [Burbāpur] upon the Mogolls frontiers, expecting the breaking up of winter [i.e. the rainy season], both armies lying abroad in tents.

In August I received flying newes of an English pinnasse at Gandave,⁵ which, departing thence, was againe forced

¹ The Gentle de Freyre who was coming out as Vice-roy, died on the way.

² See Finch's letter to Hawkins on p. 129.

³ Raja Man Singh. Panna Parwā was nominally in command.

⁴ This seems to be either for Junnar (in Zoonā District) or for Jālnāpur (see p. 137).

⁵ Bhadravār, the original name of the city of Hyderabad, the present capital of the Nizam's dominions.

⁶ Gandavi, about twelve miles up the Ambika River, and twenty-eight miles south-east of Surat.

hither by three Portugal frigats. I supposed that it might belong to some of our shipping which standing for Sumatra, might not be able to fetch in, and so be forced to fall on this coast, which proved accordingly it being the *Ascension* pinnasse waiting water wood and victual¹ the master Jean Minor, with five men and two doves. The master and foure of the company came hither on the eight and tweneth but I had no small adoe with the townsmen of Surat for bringing them into the towne, they taking them from me, pretending we were but allowed trade (indeed fearing the Portugalls), till I should send to the Nagab² faire course [for: see p. 18] off, fearing force. To what evil was added a worse of the Portugalls coming into the river with five frigats and carrying away the pinnasse, weighing also the two frigates³ which they had cast by the boord. And yet a worse report came the fifth of September of the casting away of the *Ascension* the company (about seventie persons) being saved, which the next day came to Surat but were forced by the towne to lye without amongst the trees and tombes. I being not able to procure leave for the Generall⁴ himselfe (notwithstanding divers letters of recommendation which were brought from Moelia, besides letters from the King himselfe) into the towne; such is their slavish awe of the Portugalls two Jesuits threatening fire, faggot and utter desolation if they received any more English thither. That which I could doe was to send them refreshing and carry them to the Tanke⁵ where they were conveniently lodged, yet amongst tombes, till the Governor appointed them a more convenient place at a small way⁶ two course off, and with much adoe got leave for Master Rivet,⁷ Master Jordan [Jourdain] and the surgeon to come hither to provide necessaries for the rest. I had other trouble by the disorder and riot committed by some of them,

¹ The Nawāb, i. e. Mukarrab Khan.

² A *ship*, cannon.

³ Alexander Sharpeigh. For all this see the *Journal of John Jourdain*, pp. 137 *et seq.*

⁴ The Copi Tunto, near the Nausārigate of Surat. Tanke is commonly applied to what is a pool or reservoir.

⁵ Portuguese for a village.

⁶ William Revett, one of the merchants of the *Ascension*.

especially one Thomas Tucker which in drinke had killed a caide (a slaughter more then brother in law), which was a mee good of their departure fifteen staying behind sick, or unwilling to goe for Agra, and some returned againe

The sixt of October came letters from Captaine Hawkins, importing his marriage with the daughter of an Armenian, and others in the latter end of the next month, for my coming to Agra. In December we stood much in feare of Badar [see p. 100] his coming upon Surat as lying within two dayes journey with sixe hundred horse and many foote; for whiche cause the Governour cessed all men with the entertainment of ~~him~~ ^{himself} sett ing upon my lead ten men. I went to him and told him that I had twentie English at my command, for which hee thanked mee and freed mee of further charge. During this time the Barians were forced to labour to barre the streets of the citie, great watches were appointed at the gates, certaine peeces drawne from the castle and from Caracke [see p. 136] garrisoned the ~~same~~ ^{same}, which had not sufficed had not the Governour of Ahmadavar [Ahmadābād] sent one thousand horse and two thousand foot to our succour, upon newes of which forces Badar withdrew to his hold. Two yeeres before our coming had this man sacked Cambaya, whereof his gracie father had been king.

The eighteenth of January [1610] I departed out of Surat towards Agra, willing yet to have some notice thereof before I leave it. The citie is of good quantitie, with many faire merchants houses therein standing twentie miles within the land up a faire river. Some three miles from the mouth of the river where on the south side lyeth a small low land overflowed in time of raine is the barre, where ships trade and unlade, whereon at a spring tide is three fathome water. Over tops the channel is faire to the citie side able to beare vessels of fiftie tonnes laden. This river runneth to Rampart, and from thence, as some say to Mussipatan.^a As you come up the river on the right hand stands the castle, well walled, ditched reasonable great and faire with a number of faire peeces [peeces of ordnance] whereof some of exceeding great.

^a Musnapatan. The statement was of course absurd.

ness. It hath one gate to the green-ward, with a draw-bridge and a small port [i.e. gate] on the river side. The Captain hath in command two hundred horse. Before this lyeth the meadow [Hind *meidda*, an open space], which is a pleasant green in the middest whereof is a may pole to hang a light on and for other pastimes on great festivals. On this side the castle lyeth open to the green, but on all other parts is ditched and fenced with thicke hedges, having three gates, of which one leadeth to Varnā¹, a small village, where is the ford to passe over for Candhaya way. Neare this village on the left hand lyeth a small aldeia on the rivers bankes very pleasant, where stands a great pagod in rel resorted to by the Indians. Another gate leadeth to Brauport. The third to Nonsary² a towne ten cose off, where is made great store of calico, having a faire river comming to it. Somewhat further lyeth Gondoree [Gandevī—see p. 121], and a little further Besoon,³ the frontier towne upon Bannan. Hard without Nonsary gate is a fair fable sixtens square enclosed on all sides with stone steps, three quarters of an English mile in compass, with a small house in the middest. On the further side are divers faire fambes with a goodly paved court pleasant to behold, belied when groweth a small grove of mango [margo] trees, whither the citizens goe forth to banquet. Somewhat close behind this place is a great tree much worshipped by the Bannans, where they affirm a few [Hind *deo*, a spirit] to keepe [i.e. dwell], and that it hath bene oftentimes cut down and stocked up by the ruffes at the Moores continual and yet hath sprung up againe⁴. Neare to the castle is the alaphandea [see p. 128], where is a maner of stables for lading and unlading of goods, within are rooms for keeping goods till they be cleared, then a storie lading two and an halfe for goods, three for a cotton, and two for money.

¹ Varnā, on the Tāpā, two miles north of Surat.

² Nonsāri, on the Purmā about twenty miles north of Surat.

³ Here, as elsewhere, the place is mistaken. Firhūr, for a few hours forty miles south of Surat, is meant.

⁴ The *Alaphandea*—see p. 128. Murray (vol. ii, p. 31) describes it as "made into sixteen squares".

See *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, vol. ii, p. 34, for an account of this tree; also Ervay's *Voy. Account*, p. 103.

N R U I C A S T L E



We at this gate is the great gandree or bazar. Right before this gate stands a tree with an umbrella, whereon the fokers [fukers] (which are Indian boy-men) sit in state. Between this and the east is, on the entrance of the grove, is the market for rice and cattle. A little lower on the right hand (over the river) is a (1) pleasant tower. Rajah ¹ admitted by a poor called Nates, speaking in a low voice, and for the first part seen men. The houses are fair large in with high steps to each main door. The streets narrow. They are very friendly to the English. There are many pleasant gardens which will allow us to pass thru them thru the tree, and on the trees are infinite number of those great birds which we saw at Saint Augustine in Madagascar [Indrag] the claws on the hooves making a small noise. These birds are very easy, indeed in the rate, on each wing it hath a hook at the given by the hook.

The winter here begins about the first of June and dur-
 dur till the twelfth of September, but not with continual
 rains, as it does but for some six or seven days every
 change and fall, with much wind, the sea and rain. But at
 the breaking up comes a heavy rain, a storm, which they
 call the "tillon" fearfully even to men on land, which is not
 so extreme every year, but in two or three at the most.
 Moons (or northern winds) here for the south serve in
 April and September and for Moons in February and March.
 From the south in the month of December, January, and
 February, and from Moons about the fifth of September after
 the rains, from Orona and the coast of India in Novem-
 ber. But none is a pure without the Portuguese purse for
 what low money and whether they please to give hence
 erecting a cascade on the sea with subsistence of 60,000 and

[illegible][illegible]

The testimony which is given through the Holy Spirit to the
inner man is the great power of God which has been put at our disposal
to enable us to overcome sin. Rom. 8:10-13

two men abreast or for an elephant at most to get up, having also in the way vigatic small fortresses dispersed on the mountains to guard the way. Upon the top of these mountains is good pasture and abundance of grass, fountains running thence into the plains. The Akour besieged him seven years, and in the end was forced to compound with him giving him Nandipur, Dava and Bazar with divers other a dows, for the safe conducting of his merchants alongst the plain, so that he now receiveth four kapes from each presents yearly, leaves one of his homes at Bramport for pledge of his faith. He said I have always ready a four thousand march of a strong breed and excellent men one hundred elephants. [January] 20. seven to Nondibar [Nandubar] a little short of which are many houses and houses of pleasure were raised at a fine tank. [January] seven and twelve to Langil Nara. A fine heavily tower with thirteen inhabitants and a fine castle a beautiful way to the town. [January] 28. four to Sokeri [Sudkhen] a great dirty tower. In the way the Governor of Langil with officers was met as he was to go. I have borrowed some twenty of the but seeing it prove power and war gave over and we threw at our carts without trouble. On the further side of Sinderi another river of black water [the Heray, with drinking whereof I got the heavy flux which now opens me to Bramport. [January] 20. ten to Taimore [Tidder] a three day way the town is built with a castle and a river in time of rain not possible without boat. [January] 30. fifteen to Chapra [Chopra] a great town. I rested two days by reason of rain. At which time came the Governor of Nondibar with four hundred horse without whose company I could not have proceeded without danger, Cate Canon having been beaten and retired to Bramport, after the loss of the strong and rich town of Jansapora, wherewith the Demasgo was discontent that they made not as proficably into this way as was wont every passengers. The second of February six to Rawd [Arwad], a country village

* Prescribed by the Chinese to be used on the way to the Akour. The Chinese part of the text is in the original. See the original of the text in the original part of the text, chap. ix.

The unseasonable thunder wind and rain with my disease would prevent at end of my visit a harder to make walk in [mukam a fact] the third and fourth. The fifth to Beawle [Hydrabad] 10th a great town with a fair castle [February] 6th stayed by foul weather. [February] 7th sent to the River [Bayer] a great town. [February] 8th to the Bratport [Burlingame] where I pitched my tent in the Amarians yard not being able for reason to get an house the tower was so full of soldiers. Some 2000 men of this city had Baderport [Beawle] a fair city and betwixt these two cities the empire of Calcutta and others 20 in length having about one thousand horse two hundred fire elephants an hundred pieces of ordnance of all sizes on the river side. On the other side within twelve or thirteen miles lay Amberthapur an Abyssian [Ardie Habash] an Abyssian (see p. 148) and general of the King of Deccan forces with some ten thousand of his own best and brave soldiers and soon forty thousand Deccan. It is so much that the city of Bratport and certainly been lost to the Prince Sultan Pury and Hyaw Mar sengo and his ally down with great forces. For a time he had sent to the Calcutta to get up an city on composition deeming him not able to hold it against him. This city is very great and boasts of a state and a few universities are a very sickly place caused especially by the bad water. On the north east is the castle on the river bank containing from Surat large and well fortified. By the river side on the river with an amount of time to live (see p. 148) and a living place containing one day to make name against it with all his force and brake both his teeth. The land is painted red in the fore land an many other Indian worship it. Some two rose forms of the emperor Calcutta garden called Lall Bagh² by which way there being many shade trees very pleasant. With in it are divers fine walk with a nicely stone cake standing square between

¹ The word 'cast' in the manuscript. This word was often used in the manuscript.

² The word 'Lall Bagh' is described thus in the Monds, vol. 1, p. 51, and the works there cited.

³ The Lall Bagh, now a public garden.



III RUINQUR & ASTHE

Four tracks, all sanded and inclosed with a wall, at the entrance without a large banketting house built aloft between four trees.

I rested to the twelfth [February] for recovery (which God sent) under my tent. Two dayes after my coming came newes of the sacking of Raveri by fifteene hundred Deccan horse, with other places neere thereto, we blessing God for our safe arrivall, the way now not passable with one thousand horse. I was here certified also by an Armenian letters of a great overthrow given to the Portugall Armada upon the Malabar coast consisting of fiftie frigats and two gallees, which being dispersed with foule weather were slainly out of divers creeks assailed by the Malabars, which was attended with spoile, fire taking, the rest fleeing. On the twelfth I rode to visit our Prince (Parwiz), and on the thirteenth gave him a present, found him courteous, promising what I desired. The Prince had with him twentie thousand horse and three hundred elephants, and with him Asaph Khan with some three thousand and hundred Rastm¹ late King of Candahar with some thousand old soldiers. And having my abode, the eunuch came also Raja Mansergho with ten thousand horse, all Reshoots (Rajputs), and neere a thousand elephants, so that all the places for a great distance were covered with tents very brave to behold. With the armie came divers great boats for the transportation of forces over waters. The Prince removing I returned to Brampert, and on the sixe and twelfth, hee being advanced 30² towards the enemy. I went to him to take my leave, where newes came of the overthrow of certain of Manserghos forces.

The first of March the Governour of Brampert departed for Agra, and I with him 120 to Barro³ a great village stone and steepe way, being the passage over the great ridge of

¹ Asaf Khān (Jafar Beg).

² Mirza Pishwa, a Persian prince who with his brother at one time entered the kingdom of the neighbouring Portugals. Finding their position precarious, they had ever been tributary to Akbar and onered him service.

³ Barro is a small town some thirty miles north-west of Lucknow. In the notes of the journey to Agra the notes on Chandaur and Mau are too good to be omitted.

mountaines which come from Anadavartwates. About some 4 of the way reach the strong and invincible castle of Hasey seated on the top of a high mountain large and strong when to receive—as is reported—four or five hundred horse—and on the top are many large tanks and good pasture grounds. It takes and in the caves of Bader some have long stored some six hundred pieces of armour. The Author missed it a long time, finding it on all sides, and at length took it by composition. For as soon as there be a small river or a small sort of channels or rivulets or other small waters, all the waters that the people swallow and burst with drinking thereof, which mortalitye caused him to recover and at length deliver it being exorcise by some former physician. The third March the 1. Came a great and a somewhat troublesome way. The fourth to Magergon, Magergon] is a great olden halway. The fifth the 4. to Bherga, Bherga] a great village. The sixth the 5. to Bherka, Bherka] a small village. The seventh the 6. to Taxpur, Taxpur] a small town. At 2 o'clock the way was past a large river called Naryar, Naryar] was a river from Bherga [Bherga] then the banks a pretty town [Bherga] and fair cattle, and many of the ferrie places. To pass over with camels is a way a little more on the right hand, where is an overfall and rock above three foot in the passing, but more a little over. The eighth the 8. to Manow [Manow] see p. 171. At which place up a steep stone mountain having way but for a camel at most. This ridge of mountains extendeth north east and south west. On the top of the edge of the mountain standeth the gate or entrance of the hill over which is built a large fort and house of pleasure, the walls extending along the mountaines side for many miles. On the left hand at the entrance some two or three miles distant of the top of a peaked [peaked] mountain standeth a strong fort, and in other places disperse some ten or twelve more. For 2 o'clock before when this gate the hill descended at gave only temples and mosques [mosques]

Asst. As in the above passage with a small river. As in p. 169. From east to west. The road to the fort [Bherga] is Bherga. For a small river. See Du Jarric's vol. at p. 171, and the *Asst. District Gazetteer*, p. 202.

which remaine in great numbers to this day with some tobacco wals of great houses. The chief entrance is to goe due North and South but East and West tower walle rises ¹ and yet to the east warden all earth good pasture ground for many courses. At the North end there are some sixteene fire towers here and there spaced about the citie. That which is now standing is very faire and small in comparison of the former wall - yet goodly to be regarded of the stone are faire gates, that I suppose the like not to be in all Christendome. At the entrance to the south warden the gate of the city is walled in as you passe along on the left hand stands a goodly mosque and over against it a faire pavilion wherein are entered the bodies of four kings with exceeding rich tombes ². By the side thereof standeth a high turret of one hundred and seventie steps high built round with galleries and windows to every noone all exceeding for goodly ports like gates and are palaces. The walls are all interwoven with a green stone much beautifying. On the north side where I came forth by a piece of ordinance of a foot and an halfe bore in the mouth but the breech was in the ground. The gate is very strong with a steep descent, and without this six other all very strong with great walled passages or courts to guard between gate and gate. On this side is also a small port, but the way thereto is exceeding steepe. At a right on the side is so much the wall with flunkers ever here and there running and yet is the hill so steepe of it selfe that it is not almost possible for a man to climb up on all four to any part of it. So that in mans judgement it is altogether invulnerable and yet was taken partly by force partly by treason by the aid of this mans grandfather for King Suleiman Selim whose ancestors had conquered it from the Indians some four hundred yeeres agoe ³.

These houses are excellently. The ruins are 3, none from north to south and 4½ from east to west.

In the middle of the city is a large mosque built by Sultan Selim. The tombstones are of the khans who were buried in the Ak-Sakaia. Some of the tombstones are of the 16th century.

The Tower of Victory was built by Sultan Mahmūd I in 1443 to commemorate his defeat of the Indians at the battle of the Trench.

The building of the city was completed by a Sultan who was the

Gracæ¹ inhabiting the hills on the left hand, which often unpleasantly entertain caravans. A hundred of them had done the like to a calli² (*kāflā*, a caravan) now halted at our country place. It is a small towne short of which is a great lake full of wilde fowle. The fifteenth, 10 c. to Pipelgon [Piplagun], a ragged aldea. At the end of this way lyeth Saranpore [Sarangpur], a great towne with a castle on the south west side, with a fine Lawne-house. Here are made faire turbants and good linnen. Short of this towne we met Chuan John,³ a great minion [i.e. favourite] of the King, with ten thousand horse, many elephants, and boats carryed on carts, going for Bramport. On the way also we passed divers of Mansung's men, here having in all some twenty thousand, so that it was deemed there were one hundred thousand horse assembled.

The sixteenth, 7 c. to Cuckra,⁴ a great country towne abounding with all sorts of graine victuall and Mewa wine, at 4 c. lyeth Berron [Boru], a great aldea. The seventeenth, 12 c. to Delant, a great aldea, the way for the five last coses theeven hilly story; the other pleasant plaines. The eighteenth, 7 c. to Barrow [Barru] a small towne but plentiful of victuall, except flesh which is scarce all this way, the way dangerous. The nineteenth, 7 c. to Sikeseru a small ragged towne. The twentieth to Syringe [Siron] 9 c., a very great towne where are many betel⁵ gardens. The one and twentieth and two and twentieth, wee make mukom. The three and twentieth to Kachenary Saray [Kachner Sarā] 8 c. The four and twentieth to Sadara [Shahdara] 5 c. The five and twentieth to Colloboge [Kālābhag], 7 c. The six and twentieth, 12 c. to Qualeres [Kaltharas], a pretty small towne

¹ *Græa* was a kind of blackmail levied by Rājputs and Kols, and *græwa* was the term given to the person who received this toll. It thus came to mean a robber.

² The *hapat* of Kōjān shāh to the Doerā is described at p. 261 of the *Tārīkh* (vol. 3).

³ Apparently Hakarwar, on the Deas River. Finch seems to have turned east of Piplagun, until he struck a more northerly route. Barrow twelve miles north-east of Borsin and the city in question west of Siron.

⁴ The *pān* or *peper betel*, the leaf of which is used for chewing with the betel-nut.

encompassed with tall good and strong trees. The seven and twenty (17) to (18) miles, seven or eight courses (a mile and an half) way thence, stony fall of trees, a desert passage, a walled town, faire houses, covered with slate. Two nights before some thirty or seventy thousand slaking for a day set arivan assailed a city (right one hundred and fifty) Indian soldiers, and fell into a pit they digged far others ten being slain in as many taken the rest fled. The eight and twentieth to Narwar [Narwar] 12 miles desert rocky way free of thieves. In the woods sat divers chucks to prevent robbing, but the fox is often made the goose-brained. One pretty neat me-kite abode in one place at the foot of the gate a few peere in abutants, we saw a fair day's journey and many faire springs ministered. The towne at the foot of the hill hath a castle on the top of a stony steepe mountain with a narrow stone causeway leading to the top, some miles or better in ascent. In the way stand three gates very strong with places for corps de guard. At the top of a hill is the fourth gate, which leads into the castle, where stands a guard, not permitting any stranger to enter without order from the King. The towne within is faire and great, with a desert thereto, being situate in a valley, on the top of a mountain very strange. As it is reported, that he is a circle some 5 or 6 c. and walled round with towers and thickets here and there exposed without treason, invincible. This hath been the gate or border of the kingdom of Marwar, and hath been beautiful and stored with richness. But now is much gone to ruin. The twenty ninth to Pilachia [Pilachia] 7 c. The thirtieth to Archo [Archo], a great towne 12 c. The thirty one to Chavere [Chavere], 6 c., a pleasant towne with castle. On the east side is on the top of a steepe peak, a ruinous building, where divers great men have been interred. On the west side is the castle, which is a steep craggy cliff of 6 c. compassed at least (divers say eleven), and inclosed with a strong wall. At the going up to the castle, adjoining to the citie is a faire court enclosed with high walls and shut in with strong gates, where keeps a strong guard, not permitting any to enter without publicke order. From hence to the top leads a stone

narrow cawsey waited on both sides, in the way are three gates to be passed, all exceeding strong with wards of guard to each. At the top of all, at the entrance of the last gate, standeth a mighty carplant of stone very curiously wrought. This gate is also exceeding stately to behold, with a goodly house adjoining, whose walls are all set with Greene and blue stone with divers gilded turrets on the top. This is the Governours lodging, where is place to keepe nobles that offend. He [i.e. the Great Mogul] is said to have three such noble-prisons or castles, this and Rantimore [see p. 100], 40 c., to which are sent such nobles as he intends to put to death, which commonly is some two moneths after their arrival, the Governour then bringing them to the top of the wall and giving them a dishe of milke,¹ which having drunke, he is cast downe thence on the rockes; the third is Hotas [see p. 100], a castle in the kingdome of Bengala, whither are sent those nobles which are condemned to perpetuall imprisonment, from whence very few returne againe. On the top of this mountaine of Gualere is very good ground with three or foure faire tankes, and many other faire buildings. On the towne side are many houses cut out of the maine rocke, for habitation and sale of goods. On the north-west side, at the foot of the hill is a spacious meadow inclosed with a stone wall, within which are divers gardens and places of pleasure, fit also to keepe horses in time of warre. This castle was the gate or frontier of the kingdome of Dely, bordering on Mandow, and is neere a mile of ascent.

The first of April 1610, to Mendaker [perhaps Mandūkhera], 6 c. The second, 10 c. to Doulpate [Dhulpur]. Within 2 c. of the towne, you passe a faire river called Cambere [the Caambur], as broad as the Thames, short of which is a narrow passage with hills on both sides, very dangerous. The castle is strong, ditched round, and hath foure walls and gates one within an other, all very strong, with steep ascents to each, paved with stone; the castle is inhabited most-whol with Gentiles. The castle is three quarters of a mile through, and

¹ The passage of Man Singh. The gate is the Hashya Pol or Elephant Gate.

Rather, a decoction of the milky juice of [see p. 135]

on the fourth or fifth day like goes to be passed again. The third, to Japan [Japan, &c. The fourth, to Agara. In the afternoon the Captaine [i.e. Hawkins] carried in before the King. There found at my country Captaine Thomas Boys, with three French soldiers, a Dutch master, and a Venetian merchant with his son, and a servant, away come by land out of Christendome.

In May and part of June, the towne was much vexed with fires night and day, burning in one part or other whereby many thousands of houses were consumed. Besides men women can even not tell that we feared the judgement of God, and God's wrath over the place. I was long dangerously sick of a fever, and in June the heat so exceeded that we were half roasted alive. June the twenty eighth arrived Pedro Menico, an urel knave, a Jesuite. I should say, who brought letters from the Viceroy, with many rich presents, sending only to thwart our affairs. In this case Mr. Howear was complacent of by the Captaine to the King, who entertained Mice Hassan, a chief Viceroy's dog, a fat body, of a feather will fly together, and Mr. Howear verily mis-reckoned, partly turned us over to a bankrupt Barman, so that of thirty two thousand five hundred one [absent], and an trade due, he would pay but even thousands. Neither would he pay that present, &c. &c. &c.]

In July came newes of the success of the Kings forces in Deccan, who, being within some four dayes journey of Andamanagar, [Aurangabad] having raised the siege thereof, were forced through famine and drought to make their retreat for Burampoor, whereupon the camp after much miserie increased, was lost. This army consisted of one hundred thousand horse at the most, with infinite numbers of camels, and elephants, so that with the whole baggage, we could not but have then five or six hundred thousand persons, insomuch that the waters were not sufficient for them, a

A soldier of fortune who had come from a war of Turkey and Persia, gave us this hint at Jaqueson, and his adventures are noted in the following pages, &c. and a new line of trade. As a ready merchant, he started for England with Pinch and died like him at London.

trussacks [Hut, *maslak*: a goatskin water-bag] of water being sold for a rupee, and yet not enough to be had, and all victuals at an excessive rate. For the Deccan army still spoiled the country before them, and cut by sword their and supplies for victualing them out of Gazarate and Banarport, daily making light skirmishes upon them to their great disadvantage, that without retreating the whole army had been endangered. At their returne to Banarport there were not to be found thirty thousand horse, with infinite number of elephants, camels, and other cattell dead. This moneth also came newes of the sacking of Patana (see p. 113), a great victory in Purroop (see p. 107), and surprising of the castle where the Kings treasure lay, the citizens flying without making resistance. But upon this the Emperor presently came a great Ombra⁴ adjoining, and tooke him in the castle. The Emperor returning he sent twelve of the chiefe of them to the King, who caused them to be shaven, and in womens attire to be carried on asses through all the streets of Agra, and on the next day (as it is said) cut off their heads. All this month also was much stirre with the King about Christianity, hee affirming before his nobles that it was the so in last fourth part that of Mahomettes and false. He commanded also three princes, his deceased brothers sonnes,⁵ to be instructed by the Jesuites, and Christian apparel to be made for them, the whole city adoring. And yet at the same time Abdel Hassans judgement was that it was not fitt to pay debts to Christians, in Mo. Howrans case whereof againe we had reference from the King to him. Perhaps on like ground as some Europeans make allowance to make price [i.e. *prez*] of the goods and ships of Ethnikes [heathen *co munie*], therefore setting out men of warre, so to make the Christian name not as an ornament peaced out, that the *torgio* soules may be converted and love Christ, but as filthy

⁴ Properly a king, but used in the sense of a daring adventurer.

⁵ *Chakras*, a corruption of the name of our Lord.

⁶ Theophilus, Rayana, Tan and Hataq, the three sons of the late Prince Alauddin. Their conversion is referred to by Hawkins (see p. 80, 119), Roe, Terry and Bernier, but the last three say that only two of them were made Christians. They soon renounced the new religion, and the Emperor said that the Deccans had refused to provide them with Portuguese wives. Roe p. 116, Terry p. 42.

matter running out of rotten hearts and poisoned lips. And with fire and sword to occupy the Kingdom of Orissa in those parts. At last all reformed professors returned as men of true profession against him, saying that the name of God through them be not blasphemed among the Gentiles. That I referre to this dissension was sent it hath to the work required. These three princes were christened solemnly conducted to church by all the Christians of the city to the number of some sixtie horse. Captain Hawkins being in the lead of them, with St. Georges colours carried before him to the honour of the Christian nation. Kitting aboard in the court before Shah Selim's castle. The eldest was named Don Philip, the second Don Carlos, the third Don Henrique, and on the ninth of September was christened another young prince, the Acabur's brother's sonnes sonne, by the name Don Duarte, the King giving daily charge to the Fathers for their instruction, that they might become good Christians.

October the twelfth we were certified by letters of M. Jourdain from Surat, that thirtie frigates of the Portugals were cast away on the barre of Surat, hasting before the winter was broken up to catch huge fenguins: many of the men escaped and were glad to beggar at the English's doore.

The first of November I was sent to buy molasses, 400 or indig. at Buntar [see p. 113]. I found that right at Malabarpoore, a great suray, 7 or 8 by which is a garden and molah *mahal* palace or summer house of the Quene Mothers, very curiously contrived. The second at Candowra [Kāñwā] Me. at the end is a molah of the King. And at every end and from Azra is a cloth store piled full like the Asriere where hath gathered up boxes of a great Moorish sack called Haxer Moudre, whereto the Acabur wanting Fildes *uma*

No doubt after the King of Siam and Portugal. The ceremony of burning was performed by Kaur Naxa, and the task of instruction was committed to Father Core, a Jesuit, for was the one. I have seen see the *Journal* of the *Journal* of the *Journal* Society, Vol. 1, page 1.

Muzza Mubhamal Hak. see p. 113.

¹ Praditya Māyā, name Kiraoli. Traces of the garden and citadel are to be seen at Kiraoli.

² The *Journal* is situated of Kāñwā, a Mainudain Chauri at Ajmer.

a foot pilgrimage to beg for ~~some~~, and caused a pillar at each course to be set up, and a ~~man~~ road with lodgings for sixteen great women at every eighth course alongst and after his return obtained three sonnes. At 7 c. on this way, and 12 r. from Agra, is seated the famous citie of Fetipore Fatipour Sakri, built by the Akbar and enclosed with a faire stone wall which yet standeth free having four faire and strong gates, & being some three English miles betwixt gate and gate. In the midst it is all ruinate lying like a waste desert, and very dangerous to passe through in the night, the bandes lying with out mantilants; much of the ground being now covered wth gardens and much sowed with fl^{our} and other graine that a man standing there would thinke he were in the midst of a citie. To the entrance of the gate from Agra some course in length upon a slop ascent lie the ruines of the ~~citie~~ walls, as also with it the southwest gate for two English miles in length, many faire buildings being fallen to the ground and on the left hand are many faire enclosed gardens three miles a longst from the citie. At the entrance of a northeast gate is a goodly bazar (market place) of stone, half a mile long being a pair of straight walled street, with faire buildings on either side. Close within the gate is the Kings Saray with faire stone lodgings, but much ruined. At the head of this street stands the Kings house and ~~man~~ road with much curious buildings, and on the further side thereof upon an ascent, stands the goodliest mesquite of the East [the Chandi Masjid]. It hath some twentie foure or thirty steps of ascent to the gate [the Ba and Darwaza] which is one of the highest and fairest (I suppose) in the whole world. On the top are a number of clustering pinnacles, curiously disposed. The top of this gate may be plainly seen eight or tenne miles distance. Within is a goodly spacious court, very curiously paved with free stone, about six times the largenesse of Londons Exchange with faire large walkes alongst the side more then twice as broad and double the height of those about the Bourse of London (the Royal Exchange), the pillars upholding them being of one citie stone, and round about are entrances into many goodly rooms, neatly contrived. Opposite to the gate toward the further side stands

out.

Jain's Masjid

Carving

short foot-stake the branches hard and of a woode substance
 cut into brooke. It usually growth not above a yard high
 and with a stalk at the biggest, which is at the thre yeeres)
 not much exceeding a mans thumb. The seede is a round
 thin skinned round coole about an inch long resembling *Portu-*
gracum, save that it is more round at both ends, as if it had
 been cut off with a knife. It beareth a small flower like that
 of *Hieracasea*. The seede is ripe in November and then
 gathered. The herbe once sowed durth three yeeres being
 cut every yeere in August and September after lay rains.
 That of one yeere is here called *Cere* (from *ale Ndre*) which
 is a wechty reddish thing sinking in water, and called *Cyere*²
 by the people. That of the second yeere is called *and* called *Cyere*³
 very light and of a perfect sweet colour swimming on the
 water, in the third yeere the herbe is decaying and is call-
 ed *cutticol*⁴ being a weigthy blackish sub, the worst
 of the three. This herbe, being cut the fourth afternoon is
 cast into a long cistern where it is pressed downe with many
 stones and then filled with water till it be covered, which
 so remaineth for certaine dayes till the substance of the herbe
 be gone into the water. Then they let the water forth into
 another round cistern in the middlest of which is another
 small cistern or center. This water being thus drawne forth
 they straine it with great straws, like latter or white starch, and
 then let it settle seasoning off the cleare water in the toppe,
 they labouring it afresh, and let it settle againe drawing forth
 the cleare water. doing thus oft till nothing but a thick
 substance remaine, when they take forth and spread on cloth
 to dry in the sunne, and being well dried they take it
 in their hands and making small balles lay them on the sand
 to dry for any other thing would drinke up the remain, this
 is the cause of the windy foot. So if man fall it loseth his
 colour and glasse and is called *Amad*⁵. Some deceitfully wil

¹ See George Waller's note that this term is derived from *wundia*, the young plant.

² *Jure*, 'support' from the root

Ac = *to support*. With this account of the various steps of that in *Letters Received*, vol. vi, p. 241.

³ This word is here connected with the *Hippocrene* mount.

seen a stone pillar¹ which passing through three stories is higher than an twenty-four foot having at the top a globe and a large mound over it. This stone they say remains under the earth and is placed in the water being an old stone some say Namerdargava a Persian king would have taken it up and was prohibited by many of his scorpians not that it hath inscriptions. In divers parts of India the like are to be seen, one of late was found buried in the ground about Fetti-pore a stone pillar of an hundred cubits length which the King commanded to bring to Agra but was broken in the way to his great grief.² It is remarkable that the quarries of India specially neere Fetti-pore (whence they are carried farre) are of such nature that they may be cleft like laggies and sawne like plancks to scale chambers and over houses of a great length and breadth. From this monument is said to be a way under ground to Dely castia.³ Now here remaine onely Gougars and there are store of deere. We saw in the way the ruines of divers places (princes?), and neere the same the ruines of a wall 20 c. in circuit being a park for game. Some part of this way was treeyish and some report being given out of the Kings death many rogues with that false alarme were abroad. We met the Fesler [*faujdar* military commander] of Dely with some two thousand horse and foot in their pursuit who burnt the houses and took them and theirs, whatsoever he could get and the next day at breakfast we were like to be surprized by H-eves.

On we went Gannur 14 c. Parneput (Pān'put) 11 c. at the entry whereof was placed a man-trail⁴ with the heads of some

A curious metalike with Greek or Hebrew inscriptions as some affirm is thought to be set here by Alexander many now hold, probably by Ptolemy, based on Cerypt).

¹ Sir Edward Managanter, and his Nasiruddin Ghani may have been Namerdargava. T. Graham says it is a mistake.

² Not a stone but a tree, according to the pillar.

³ For reference to this and other such mythical passages see Mon. serv. i. 308. Garrow's *India* in p. 715 and *India* in vol. 4 and vol. 5. *The Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* 1861 p. 102 and 1912 (p. 279).

⁴ If *par* or pillar. For the practice of cementing the heads of criminals or rebels on pillars erected for the purpose see *Mon. serv.* pp. 71.

son whose name was Ching-San-San, upon some disgust, took
 refuge in his father's lifetime and fled into Parung, where he
 kept the strong castle of Alohasse. Alad-shūh¹ did not in
 some time in vain, before his father's decease, when upon
 Alad-shūh's death, the crown of the Sabur came to his son. But
 after Alad-shūh's death, some, by his friends, seized on the castle
 and treasure, and his son fled for Lador, where hee gathered
 some twelve thousand horse, as good soldiers, and Mogols,
 possessing the sabur twelve days, and proclaimed king in
 the kasse² and his father in the castle. In this place
 he was battell'd by Seck-fered (Seckh Farid), and dis-
 ordered his three hundred horse and put them to the sword.
 To the second [i.e. assistance] of him came Moher Ah
 Farwall, Khwaja Malik Ah, the *lord* of the king being
 some 200 behind with some two hundred horse, beating
 up the Kings druggies, and giving a brave assault, another
 God save King Seckh, upon which the Prince's soldiers
 fainted and fled, the Prince himself fleeing only with five
 horse, and got 300 beyond Lador for Cabul, which he had
 when he would have put his father to further trouble, but
 being to passe a river where hee gave them of gold, the
 boat men grew in distrust, and in the middest of the channel
 swept overboard and swampe the state where hee gave
 them to the governor of the town a joyning who presently
 with five horse came down to the river where the boat was
 still lying, remarked himself in another, and said that
 by the nature of king's son, hee offered him a demand, and
 that hee to his purpose, which the Prince accepting was taken up
 with his company and guarded till he had sent the king
 word, who sent Gernungbeg³ to fetch her, fettered on a
 elephant. From hence his father proceeded to Cabul, punishing
 such as he found fault in this revolt, carrying present with

¹ See Hawkins's account (p. 107).

² Perhaps he means the *dar-ghā*, a term sometimes given for the
 dar-ghā. The word and the name would have been a great error.
 and would have been a great error for Jahan, and the word for
 Khurasan.

For the name of Mahomet Khan. For the accounts of Khurasan
 see the *Ching-tung* vol. 1, p. 114, and the *Ching-tung*
 (vol. II, p. 143).

twenty eighth arrived here a Persian embassy under¹ called to
 Sha. Akash with a great caravan accompanying him. I by
 their letter knew that the way to Candahar was now open the
 warres being over which the Turke so lately² had caused who
 the former years had fled to the Persians with some ten thousand
 Turkes and had blinded some jaggers [i.e. an assignment of
 land] were thereto, whereof a purposing to make himself
 king was overthrowne and being sent far by the Persians re-
 fused to come, I then desired by promise of a marriage I was
 got to the court and there lost his head. We hear also of the
 Persians taking from the Turke the strong castle of Leres after
 a veryes siege with other Asan and Barqan newes.

Lahore is one of the greatest cities of the East containing
 some 210 in circuit by the ditch which is now casting up
 about it and by the Kings command now to be inclosed with
 a strong wall. In the time of the Potanis it was but a village
 Multan then flourishing in Hamawān [Hamāyūn, enlarged
 this. The towne and suburb is some five thousand. The castle
 or towne is inclosed with a strong bricke wall having thereto
 twelve faire gates, nine by land and three openings to the
 river. The streets are paved with stone, the inhabitants most
 Baneris are handcrafts men all white men of note living in
 the suburbs. The buildings are faire and high with bricke
 and much curious carveden wood work and doors most of
 the Gentiles doors of six or seven steps ascent and very
 troublesome to get up, so built for more security and that
 passengers should not see into their houses. The castle is
 seated on Ravee a goodly river which floweth into Indus
 downe which go many boats of sixtie thorne or upwards for
 Tatta in Sind after the fall of the river being a journey of
 some forty dayes along by Multan, Secypore³ Bichar
 [Bukhar], Rauree [Rohri] etc.

¹ Yuzgur Al-Sultān. For this embassy see the *Turk* vol. 1
 pp. 193, 217, &c.

² A letter from Perma of June, 1606, refers to the defeat of Jomle
 the great enemy. *For Some Papers to India* 1613 etc. no. 44.
 In which he was a violent enemy he could be compared with the
 Turkish general Jugha-gay mentioned by Mahomed *History of Persia*,
 vol. 1, p. 389. In this case, however, Mahomed's story must be wrong.

³ See for an ancient town on the Indus, in the Muzaffargarh district.

Asoph Cohn [Asaf Khān (Jafar Begh) Shakh Fererz Shakh Farid, Kash Cohn (Kāsh Khān), and Rajaw Jaggonat (Raj Jaggonāt)] who at his death had seven of his friends that burned themselves with him, besides one of his kinsmen and a brother-in-law. On the left hand of the King stands Rajaw Rowang (Rājā Singa) who beats away flies, then Rajaw Kōrōn (Rājā Dās) who holds his sword, then Chān Cohn (Jān Jān) in lago or Mawlat Cohn, Mawlat Row, in Rajaw Bessaw, Rajaw Rānsing, Majō Kessō and Lah Berman. Note also that in this gallery, as you enter on the right hand of the Khōr, over the door is the picture of our Saviour, opposite on this left hand of the Virgin Mary. This overman is very ill and filthy painted, overlooking the Rajaw. From Enter passing, harrow a small entry to the west, you enter another small court, where is another open chamber of state, basin and covered with rich stimutes [see p. 117]. From hence you enter into a small gallery at the end of which, on the river, thorow a small window the King looks forth at his debarree [see p. 151] to behold the fights of wilde beasts on the river tow by the river. On the west of this gallery is drawing the picture of the Acubur sitting on his state, and before him Sūa Sūa has some standing with a hauke on his fist, and by him Sūttan Cossatōn, Sūttan Pōrre, Sūttan Cossatōn has three sumers. At the end is a small teyngman where the King useth to sit, behind which is his lodging chamber, and before it all open into a paved court at one end the right hand whereof runs the small path of two lakes, each containing eight hundred logs for several women, with galleries and windows looking to the river and to the court. All the doors of these chambers are to be fastened on the right side, and the women in the gallery where the King useth to sit are drawn over head many pictures of angels, with pictures of Roman deys [see p. 144] or rather divels intermixt in most ugly shape, with long horns, staring eyes, shaggy haire, great snags, ugly mouths, long tailes, with such horrible deformity and deformity that I wonder the poor women are not frightened

These are Sūat Khān (Khān Jāhān), Zamīna Beg or Mahābat Khān, Wākara, Yān Rājā Bāz, Rājā Rājā Singa, Rājā Kōsh Dās (?), and Lah Bēr Singh.

therewith. Within this court is a pleasant devocion and laungings, and the way to another mohal for the King to passe, but none other.

Now to returne to the first court, where the Adees (see p. 99) or great keepers their water, there is also on the left hand the new Devan, beyond it another small court with reservoir, and passing tharow is a tower gate, a fair large square mohal called the New Mohal, if that largeness have it may lodge two hundred women in state all severall. Likewise returning to the great court passing right on you enter another small paved court on the left hand and into another garden, the whitest of the three, enclosed with six or seven square buildings each having faire longings, a devocion court, a great paved court, each for fankes, and enjoying a little world of pleasure and state to her self. Close to every pleasure upon the river, before the mohal of Sultan Camar is another square of an high pole to hang a light on, as before the King, for that shee bring it forth his best come and here. In the midst stands a gaudy gallery for the King to sit in with such high pictures over head as before. At the end are drawne many portraictures of the King in state sitting amongst his women, one holding a fluske of wine, another a napke, a third presenting the peashy [*payda*, a small cup] behind one putting on a turban [*padar*], another holding his sword, another his bow and two or three arrows etc. Before this gallery is a faire paved court, with stone gratings and windows against the waters side, at the end a fine marble pillar enclosed over head looking over the river, beneath it a garden of pleasure, behind the Kings lodgings very sumptuous, the water and seelings all over and with pure gold and coral alonge the sides, about a faine height some three foote distant are placed faire Venetian looking glasses, three and three each above other, and below these amongst the water are drawne many pictures of this kings ancestors, as of Akabar his father, Hamowne his grand father, Babur his great grand father, who first set foote into India with three of his nobles, all clad like kalendars or lookers, which so came

The 85th Begum, she was a daughter of Rājo Jangwān Dās and sister of Jāgi Mīn Singh.

to Dily 15 Secenders [Sikandar Lodi 1489-1517] could then
 nothing; where by his very countenance he was discovered,
 yet forced mercy and returned upon him with not to attempt
 anything during the said Secenders reign which he performed,
 but after his death he sent his son the Nawab upon him seeking
 for Abram [Ibrahim Lodi 1517-20], from whom he took the
 whole kingdom. Yet at length rose up a great captain
 [Sher Shah] of the blood-royall in Bengal, who fought a
 great battell with the Nawab neare Calcutta, put him to flight
 and so closely followed him that he drove him forth of the
 kingdom to the Persian Shaw, of whom hee obtained new
 forces (with whom came Hyrat, Caim Caima las &c. see
 p. 71 n.) for generall and accompanied all living after that
 security. This king dying left Acubar very young appointed
 Hyrat Caim Protector whom the Acubar coming to
 years cut off and set a robbery [Spanish *robaria*] or piracy
 up (to Meera as is said, took away with him the
 Caim Caima (or Caim of the Cannies) — it also much curbs
 Sher Shah the king with his friends and allies being able to
 take better then an hundred thousand horse. Sher Shah
 afterwards himselfe like the most lawfully descended from the
 blood of Tamerlane, the Great being the great-grandchild of
 Babur, King of Cabul.

But to returne to the entrance of this nobill passing forth
 of that court thorow a strong gate and enter into the city
 againe this house had apparcellances of nobles being at the
 least two English miles in circuit. On the east-side of the
 castle hard without the wall, is the garden of Asoph Caim
 [Asaf Khan (Jafar Beg)] well walled with walles planted
 with express trees, divers fountains and fountains, as you enter
 a faire devonean supported with stone pillars with a faire
 faine in the midst and in the midst of that on foure stone
 pillars a quarter for coolnesse. Beyond are other galleries
 and walkes, divers lodgings for his women neatly contrived
 and behind a small garden and garden house. In the midst
 of the garden is a very stately quarter with faire buildings over

¹ There seems to be no truth in the story of Babur's visit to India in disguise, and it was he, and not Humayun, who made the invasion of 1526.

beat and a canal in the center with large and goodly galleries amongst the square sides thereof supported with light stone pillars. Adjoining to this is a garden of chinkings in which are very good apples, but small too (fat raspberry) white and red, almonds, peaches, figs, grapes, quinces, oranges, limmons, pomegranates, roses, stock-gelow flowers, marigolds, wall-flowers, trees,² plukes white and red with divers sorts of Indian flowers.

On the west side of the castle is the ferry to passe over to Cawn (and so to Tartary or Cascar, Kashgar), a very great road way and the further side of the river is a goodly country. Infinit numbers of gardens laid of ratty exceeds (the project by and) two or three cun length.

Passing the Sugar Gange³ is a faire mesquite built by Sacche Ferred,⁴ beyond it (without the towne, on the way to the gardens) is a faire monument for Don Shau his mother one of the Akbar's wives with which is a Shau's son had been that time was Imameque Kalk⁵ or Pomegranate kernel upon some of which the King Akbar causes her to be buried quick with her was in a hall full where she lived, and the King (Jahangir, on taken is his love continuals a sumptuous house to be built of stone in the midst of a faire square garden richly walled with a gate and divers rooms verid⁶. The convexity of the house he hath willed to be wrought in workes of gold with a large fair picture with rooms overhead. Note that most of these monuments which I then on are of such largeness that if they were otherwise contrived would have room to enter a new very good man with his whole household. Without the Dera Droware⁷ where he is best, *gambat*, or great drow boats is a goodly straight

¹ The white stock (*Melinda indica*).

² The Florentine iris.

³ The stream of Darya Farid Shikar, to the south west of the city.

⁴ Shauka Farid (brother of Shah Jahan) on the shore, but this mosque does not appear to exist.

⁵ *Shauka Farid* (brother of Shah Jahan) on the shore. There is no confirmation of this statement, but it was the brother of Shah Jahan.

⁶ The word, which is a sort of the word of Labor was not used till 1815.

⁷ The Delhi Gate (*dargah*).

street, about three quarters of a mile long, unpaved, at the end of which is the Bazar, by it the great saray, besides which are divers others, both in the city and suburbs, wherein divers newe lodgings are to be let, with courts, lakes and keyes to each. Hence to the north-east lyeth Ambere¹ the place of hospitality, from hence to the south-east the habitation of divers loving etc.

The seventeenth of May came newes of the sacking of Cabul by the Potan theeves, which kept in the mountains, being eleven thousand foot and one thousand horse, the Governour thereof being at Gelanahoe [Jalalabad] about other affaires, and the garrison so weak that they were able only to maintaine the castle. In six houres they spoiled the city and returned with great booty. The King for better awing of these rebels, hath placed twenty three ambraes betwixt Lahor and Cabul, and yet all will not serve, they often sallying from the mountains, robbing caravans, and ransacking townes. The eighteenth of August arrived a great caravan from Persia, by whom we had newes from an Armenian which had served M. Hovey, of the French kings death, and of affaires betwixt the Tark and Persians, he having destroyed the country about Tauris. Farrix faced the city, and flayed up the wits of Lahor the Turks come, the merchants by this means to our griefe, not daring to adventure beyond Candhar.

Of divers wayes in the Moguls Kingdome, to and from Lahor and Agra, and places of note in them²

From Lahor to Cabul, passing the Ravie, at 10 stands toooges saray [Racha sarai], beyond which 8 c. Ferozshade [Aninabad], a faire city, thence to Channagaukur [Chama Gakkhar], 12 c., a great towne. To Guzarat [Gujrat] 14 c. a faire city of great trade. At 7 c. of this way you passe the river Chantrow [Chenab], neare a coast over. To Howaspore

¹ This may possibly refer to some *campagna* mango-garden in which there may have been a *caravanserai* or rest-house, but no trace of such a place can be traced in modern times.

² Henri IV. was assassinated—May, 1616.

³ This meaning was doubtless supplied by Purchas.

under the Tartar. A chief article of trade in his territory is Yark¹ [Yarkand] whence comes musk, sika, parlane [parchur], musk, and rousharb, with other merchandize, all which come from China the gate or entrance whereof is some two or three monethes journey from hence. When they come to this entrance they are forced to remaine under their tents, and by license send some ten or fifteene merchants at once to doe their business, which being returned they may send as many more, but by no means can the whole caravan enter at once.

From Lador to Cassimere [Kashmir i.e. Srinagar] the way is as in Lador way to Guzerat [Gujrat] from thence north or somewhat easterly wthal 18 c to Bombar [Bharat], to Jougak Hally 14 c to Chingesat Hally² 10 c to Pekkly³ 10 c to Conowa 12 c thence 8 c you ascend a mountaine called Hast Canik Gue⁴ on the top of which is a goodly place from whence to Cassimer is 12 c thorew a goodly countrey. The city is strong seated on the river Bhat

Bhat or Jemur the countrey is a goodly place lying on the mountaines some 140 c in length and 50 c in breadth abounding with fruit, grain, saffron, fair women. Here are made the rich porderes (shawls *pamir*) which serve all the Indians. This countrey is cool subject to frosts and great snowes neare to Cassir but separated with such mountaines that there is no passage for caravans yett the countrey off-likes musk, with sika and other merchandize

to Kashgar and from thence to China will hold good. The gate of the latter countrey he describes with the name Yark⁵ Yarkand near Sathou. The route described from Lador to Kashmir is quite as accurately used by the Moghal emperors and now known as the Fir Panjal route, and the stages given by Finch, so far as they can be traced, are roughly correct.

¹ The present Chinggis Sarai.

The reference seems to be to the hilly tract of known as Peko, but as this is a considerable distance from the Lador route, he is in fact in the alternative route is a little farther. For purpose Sir A. Stein suggests that the informant really meant to speak of the Chinggis Sarai here was a small house on the route leading from Lador to Kashmir.

² The Fir Panjal pass. Sir A. Stein suggests that the name is a reference to the mountain ridge of Hachiyang, overlooking the Fir Panjal pass from the south.

this way by which all goods are faine to be laded by and let downe often by engines and devices. Upon these mountaines keepes a small king called Tibout, who of late sent one of his daughters to Sha Seem to make alliance.¹

Nicholas U'naet [Ulmet] made another way from Agra to Surat² by Fatipore [Fatehpur Sāri], Seanderbade [Sikar darābād] Hindone [Hidāun], Chen ngom [Chandangōn], Mogoh Saray, Norngong at the foot of a mountain, which with others adjoynting are held by two Rajaws of no note. Opposite to these on the left hand beguine the mountaines of Marwa [Mārwar], which extend neare Amadaver. Upon these mountaines stands an imprigme de castle called Gar Chā o,³ the cheefe seat of Rara a very powerfull Rajaw whom neither Potan or the Acubat himselfe could ever subdue, which causes to passe by reason that all India hath beene Gentiles and this prince hath bin and still is esteemed in the reverence as them as the Pope of Rome by the Papists. And for this cause the Rajaws which have been sent against the franks some excuses that they may not indamage much of their territories, which extend heere amongst Amadaver way an hundred at fiftie great courses, and in breadth toward Ougen [Ujjan] 200 or more, enclosed for the most part with inaccessible mountaines and fortified well by art in places accessible. He is able to make twelve thousand good horse upon any occasion and holds many faire towncs and goodly cities. The way followeth by Gangua [Gangra], Charsoot [Chātsu] (the chief seat of Rajaw Marisengo his prigions)⁴ Ladancey [Ladāna], Mousatch [Mozābād], Banderapide⁵ Asmeri [Ajmer] seated

As Sir Edward Mordaunt points out, Jahāngīr in 1590-91 married a daughter of Al Rai, the ruler of the region of Little Tibet. *Ibid.* vol. 1, p. 310.

This is the route described also by Jourdain, Mundy, Tavernier & Ulmet. Jourdain seems to have been made in the autumn of 1610 (see *Jourdain*, p. 130).

² Chandangarh, the ancient capital of Mewar and it was captured by Akbar in 1568, when the rana founded a new capital, Udaipur.

³ *Chandaggarh* (or *Chandaggarh*) (Mordant's note). The word is made up of *chā*, the old name of the city and *gar*, the name of the Rajaw. It is only a legend of administrative units by the Moghuls and later rulers.

⁴ A locality Bandar Sindh, which Mundy calls Bandersunder.



AMER

upon the top of a wall or a fence and of the ascent of it
which is inevitable. The entrance of the fort is by a gate to the sea wall
a stone wall ditched round the fortification round the fort,
which the ways are many and pieces of old wall some
are toward Agna, is a very fairer luck. This place is only
known for the sepulture of Bektash Maulvi (see p. 148) a
Sect much respected by the Moslems whom they call Bektash
the Agha that is a ruler on foot from Agna to Chabab
before you come to this fort you pass three fair
courts of which the first is a wall here are more of ground
paved as with bricks and water noble what is in the third
many of Mahomed's cursed kindred and the left hand side
the second is paved with stones. The second court is paved like the
first a higher tier three is a passage the first is a high top
the third is a wall of bricks a cur as a wall with
many lights. Into the third you pass by a narrow gate
which is a wall of bricks. It is the last of the three especially
near the shore of the Sepulture where the place is
cur as a wall. The shore is large and covered with
many of pearls and the pavement about the shore of water
is a wall of bricks. The Sepulture very curiously wrought in work
of mother of pearl and with a cup in the Persian
tongue. As the district that is a wall of bricks about its
place where he sat and died of right and is a wall of bricks
and the east side stood three other courts in a row
a fairer luck on the north side was a wall of bricks
where he keeps four sides of water rich. Note that you
may not enter any of these places but have but

[illegible]

¹ The lake called the *Ann Sagar*.

• The first call to the `add` method

passage almost. At the first cose end is a gate and place of arms, there the cawrey is inclosed with walls on both sides, and at the 2^d end is a double gate. At the 3^d stands the castle, where you must enter three several gates the first very strongly plated with iron, the second not so strong, with plates over it to throw nowie seeing lead or oyle. The third strongly plated with plates stuck on forth like harpenee roes. Betwixt each of these gates are spacious courts for arms, and within the further gate is a faire porte chis. Being entred on the right hand stands a faire mesquite, with divers devoyans enjoying both to doe justice and to take tax pay. On the left hand stands the Governours House on the height of the hill over-look ing all. A flight shot (bow shot) within the castle is a faire pagode built by the founders of the castle, ancestors of G. ney Cauh, which were Indians. He turned Moore and bereaved his elder brother of this hold by this stratagem. He invited him and his women to a banquet, which his brother repating with like invitation of him and his instead of women be sende choise soldiers were appointed and close covered two and two in a draw^l. wh^{ch} being entred after this manner possent themselves of the porte gates and held it for the Great Mogor, to whom it now apperlayeth being one of the strongest seats & forts in the world. Some to the cose within the gate is a goodly tank four square, cut directly down into the rock, affording to her ffric lathore deene, of cleere and good water. A little further is a fair phie shaded with many goodly trees, beyond which on the top of a little peaked mountain is the sepulture of King Hawsard² while he lived a great soldier, since his death a great saint honoured in these parts. Here he also interred two sonnes of Calahad, a Polau king of Dely,³ neere to which is a wall which divides the castle neere a cose in circuit (the whole castle being

¹ Possibly *sham* or *Ghazala Khan* of Jalor, for whom see the *Ita* (vol. i, p. 403).

² A *de-ye* or *deote* is a chair or cage wherein they carry their women on *menes* (elephants) (country and use). It is also used to *be-ye* or *de-ye*.

³ Calahad mean *Ma-k-Sheh* or *Shah Mahamud* (Mahamud Khan), whose tomb is still to be seen in the castle.

⁴ Possibly *Jah*, and *Far* (1200-06), the first of the *Khan* (Khan) of Delhi.

about 8 c. in compass), high where it is said to keepe a huge
 make of five an. twelve foot long and as bigge as a man in
 the waste, where the people w. by no means art holding,
 a good fortific. for it hath no man, but keepe amongst ac-
 cles and bryars of this pyed mountaine. This castle is
 called the galler frontire of Gazatal. From hence you come
 to Mudre [Moors] Bimal [Bhannā] the foundations of
 whose ancient wall are yet some (they have bene 24 c. in
 circuit), many goodly towers also going to ruine, by one of
 which is the founders sepulchre, whither the Indians resort to
 worship. From hence to Amadabade is a deepe sandy desert
 country. Rodeapore [Rāthanpar] on this way hath many
 sepulchres (I let passe it and the rest)

Amadabade or Amadavar is a goodly city and situate on
 a faire river inclosed with strong walls and faire gates, with
 many beautifull towers. The castle is large and strong,
 where resideth Cam Ascan his sonne [Jahāngir Kue Khan],
 the Vice Roy in these parts. The buildings comparable to
 any citie in Asia or Africa, the streets large and well paved
 the trade great (for almost every ten dayes goe from hence
 two hundred coaches richly laden with merchaundise for Cam-
 baya, the merchants rich, the artificers excellent for carvings,
 paintings, mayd workes, in broyders with gold and silver.
 At an houres warning it hath in readiness six thousand horse,
 the gates perpetually strong guarded, none suffered without
 license to enter, nor to depart without certificate. The cause
 of this is Bidurs [see p. 100] neighbourhood in a strong hold,
 within 50 c. of this citie to the east where nature, with some
 helpe of art and industry hath fortified him against all the
 Mogalls power, and whence some foure yeeres since (pri-
 claiming liberty and lawes of good fellowship) hee sacked
 Cambaya with a sudden power (combined by hope of spoyle)
 of one hundred thousand men, which for foureteen dayes
 continued possessors there and shakers. There is also betwixt
 this and Trage¹ a certaine Rajaw on the mountaines able to
 make seventene thousand horse and foot, the people called
 Colles [Kolis] or Quallees, keeping in a desert wilderness
 which secures him from conquest, and on the right hand is

¹ There is a Trage about seven miles south west of Kaira.

another able to make tenne thousand horse. Lolling in a desert plaine a castle on regnable wise land is subject to Gulboy Cairag vernant but these seven yeeres he hath deuyed him tribute, and stands on his defence. This Rajaw is said to have a race of horses not equaled in all the East, each value at fiftene thousand rupees reported to be much swifter then the Arabian, and able to continue with reasonable speed a whole day without once drawing in te; of which he is said to have one hundred nares. From Calcutte to this citie is all a sandy woody counrey full of theevish beastly men and of mankinde savage beasts, lions, tygres etc. Thirtie le about this citie is made full [indigo] called Cickell [Sirkhe], of a towne 4c from Aradavar not so good as that of Biana.

Cambaya is nince 88c sandy wood & theevish way. It stands by the sea, encompassed with a strong bricke wall the houses high and faire the streets paved in a street he with strong gates at the end of each the bazar large. About the citie are such infinite numbers of mankeses, leaping from house to house that they doe much mischefe and murthering the houses, are ready to brame men as they passe in the streets with the stones that fall. On the south is a goodly garden with a watch tower of an exceeding height on the north are many faire tanks. It is the mart of Guzara and so humbled by the Portugals that you shall often heare two hundred bruits at once ruing there. It aboundeth with all sorts of clothe and ch drugges. The bay is 8c over dangerous to passe by reason of the great bore which lawnes many and therefore requires guides skilfull of the tydes (in the new tydes is east part). Thervies also, when you are over the elements are not a little dangerous, forcing you (if not the better provided, to quit your goods or in long booke ngs betraying you to the tydes fury, which comes so swift that ten to one you escape not. Fourc coses beyond this bay is Jondaveer [Jāmbusar] now much ruined and from thence eightene to Beroche Broach a woodie dangerous passage, in which are many wilde penecokes. Witnin 4c of Beroche is a great name of agats. It is a faire castle, seated on a river twice as broad

as the Thames to the mouth of which is hence 12 c. There are much the red buff tiles in Francesco's surpassing Hindu temple for it is a cupola a *hooka* which contains the *ferretum* for fish yards, and are not three quarters broad. Hence to Varanasi (Avaran) 20 c. a narrow country and fertile firm of villages, abounding with wild date trees, which generally are plentifully to be seen side in most places, whilst they bear a *poor* called *tarni* [date today] or *sati* [Sanskrit *auri* as a soft fruit whether wild or tree called *tarni*. Hence to Benares 30 c.

In a town, between Benares and Amalgar (yet) a great sect of the Moones called *Pole* [McLoria] ² much resorted to out of all pieces of India for wealth, children or what else they desire. Thence in the way goes with great chains on their lozges, and with their hands chained together and their mouths locked up to open opening their for food, and when they come before him in the manner of their humble devotion, they declare that presently they are *rich* and *riches* fly open, the one returning in vain, if the *poor* yes be not *vaire* in their *opes*, and in these and other like affections, which *wanting on lying vanities, forsake their own judge*.

From Agra to Cannaues [Kanauj] is 130 c.² east, the city great and unwalled seated on an ascent, and the castle on the height well fortified, at the foot water of mount C. Ganges took his course, at hath now broken a passage. Hence the valley some 4 c. distant now standing is yet a small branch remaining there. Ganges as when reaches bounds three quarters of a mile broad, but with great rains swells over his banks, covering the whole vale near 10 c. It hath thence rivers of more which fall into it, as doth he himselfe into the Gange of Benarua. In that are innumerable *magars* or crocodiles, there *magarmachh* [magarmachh, crocodile fish]. It hath gate one fair branches. Thence to Lannaues [Lucknow] state, about fourteen miles east of Benach. They are still the best source of supply for agate.

¹ Cotton clothes (*bāfī*, 'woven').

² Possibly some such name as *Pir Ali Ma'ab* — the shrine has not been traced.

³ The distance is about half this, and Finch's figures for the other distances are not reliable.

is 30 c — a towne of great traffique for linnen and other merchandize. To Oude [Ayodhya] from thence are 50 c — a cett of ancient note, in a scale of a Potan king, now much ruined; the castle built foure hundred yeeres agoe. There are also the ruines of Ranichand[s] castle and houses, which the Indians acknowledge for the great God saying that he tocke flesh upon him to see the tawndshipp of the world. In these ruines remaine certaine Bramenes who record the names of all such Indians as wash themselves in the river running thereby which custome they say hath continued foure laces of yeeres (which is three hundred ninetie foure thousand and five hundred yeeres before the worlds creation). Some two miles on the further side of the river is a cave of his with a narrow entrance, but so spacious and full of turnings within that a man may walk loose landside there, if he take not better heed where it is thought his ashes were buried. Hither resort many from all parts of India, which carry from hence in remembrance certaine graines of rice as blacke as gun-powder, which they say have beene reserved ever since. Out of the ruines of this castle is yet much gold tryed.¹ Here is great trade and such a multitude of Indian assc horne² that they make hereof bucklers and divers sorts of drinking cups. There are of these harnes at the Indians affirme, some rare of great price, not so well comparable, some esteeming them the right unicornes harnes.

From Oudee to Acharpore [Akbarpur in Fyzābād district, 30 c — some 30 c from whence Ivela Bazarre [Benares, the principal mart of Bengala goods. From Acharpore] to Jaunpore [Jaunpur, 12] 20 c — seated on a small river, over which is a bridge with houses like London Bridge but nothing so good. The castle hath beene a seat of the Potan kays, there yet remainyng two faire meskies, with many other ancient monuments; the houses are like those of Ahmadavar, the

¹ Rāma Chandra, the hero of the *Rāmāyana*. The reference is to the mound known as the Rāmkoṭ or fort of Rāma.

² Hind. *tamasha*, a show or spectacle.

³ This practice is mentioned in the *Ītī* (Rochmann and Jarrett's transl., vol. ii, p. 171).

⁴ Rhinoceros horn. The bucklers were made from the hide of the animal.

current some 8 or 10c. Hence come excellent sweet styles (car-
pels) hangings (curtains) &c. with like a sort of (11c) men etc.

This is not from Agra to Jaipur the way from thence
to the 12 that was 1. Agra to Almasse is 110c. 30c. and
4c., which are the row a continual forest. The towns and
camps stand out on the further side of Ganges pleasantly
scattered and uncrowded. Pray (see p. 19) no is welcome of
the warriors of the east. Divers Potan kings have sought to
build here a castle, but none could do it till Akabar laid the
foundation and proceeded with the work. It stands on a
point or angle leaving the river Guman (Jurnal) on the south
side filling no town. It hath been forty years abiding,
and is not yet finished. Neither is like to be in a long time.
The Akabar for many years had attending this work, by
report twentie thousand persons, and as yet there continue
working thereon some five thousand of all sorts. It will be
one of the most famous buildings of the world. In this castle
Shah Jahan kept when he rebelled against his father. The
outward walls are of an admirable height of a red square stone,
like Agra Castle, within which are two other walls nothing so
high. You enter through two faire gates into a faire court, in
which stand a pillar of stone 2 ffeete above ground (so
deeply placed within ground that no end can be seen), which
by the distances of the lines seemeth to have been placed
by Alexander or some other great conquerour, who could not
pass further for Ganges. Passing his court you enter a lesser
feyr and that is larger where the King sits and great audience
to behold servants and other beasts by night. He that entereth
within a vault are many images being representations of Raja
Adam and Mama Haya (A. and B.) (his day call here)
and of their progeny with pictures of Noah and his descent.
The Indians suppose that man was here created, or kept here
at least for many years, affirming themselves to be of that
region whereof these fathers were. To this place resort many

* He means that the distance to Agra from Jaipur via Almasse is
110c. 30c. 4c. (the distance of which is 110 miles from Jaipur to
Agra) 30 miles.

† The Akabar is a name of fort. It is only a name of a fort
of the city.

Raja Mausego, who upon the newes of her sonnes revolt
 pays out her selfe. From hence passing Ganges is a more
 direct way to Benepore. To Chappergal¹ is 12 c. It is
 one of the fairest cities in India like a goodly castle. Ten
 a mile to lodge strangers, the baggage very faire of stone
 with doores and keyes, able to lodge a thousand men. A man
 can scabbe shoot from side to side with an arrow. Neere to it
 is a faire bridge both built by one man. The way perilsome
 for thieves. Hax [Hāwa] is thence 12 c. anciently the seate
 of a Potan king, but now ruined. On the height of the hill, at
 steepe thowae is seated a strong castle double walled, having
 at the entrance the figure of a Luns face, which the Indians
 much worship, pouring abundance of eye upon it. To
 Amepore [Amidpur] is 13 c. a fertile country full
 of good sates for caravans. Much *man-eo* called *cole*² of a grosse
 sort is made in this way, which is spent in India or transported
 for Sumatra, Samarkand, Casent [Kashgar] and those
 parts. Some pass into Christianitie except those with
 that of Hama. Hence to Agra is 7 c. passing Ganges close to
 the citie.

Lands lying Easterly from Lahor with their Lords

Amongst the Raxee easterly lyeth the land of Rajaw Basso
 [Rājā, Baso] whose chiefe seate is Tera³ 45 c. from
 Lahor. He is a mighty prince now subject to the Mogul, a
 great number of Sha Seem. Out of this and the adjoining
 regions come a sort of the Indian drugges growing on the
 mountaines, spekenard, turbit⁴, musk, kbas⁵, garlick
 [garlic], turpentine, castis,⁶ etc. This Raxee confines the
 Kings of Kashmir. Bordering to him is another great Rajaw
 called Tulberket mond [Tulakshat] whose chiefe city is
 Negereont, Nizarkot now Kāgt, 80 c. from Lahor and is

¹ Chapargana, on the Sengar. Mundy prescribes the same.

² Kōmōw, *Amidpur* was the seat of a powerful kingdom of Nagpur.

³ *Thence* the name of *Tera* (now Tarkhāt) in Kangra.

⁴ *Iron* on which the name of *peridiana* is attributed.

⁵ A quantity of *beba* is now used.

⁶ *Amidpur* is a name applied, variously both for medicinal purposes and as a perfume.

nuch from Sirmān [Sirhind], in which city is a famous pagod called Je-er Durgā,¹ unto which worlds of people resort out of all parts of India. It is a small short idoll of stone, cut in forme of a man, much is consumed in offerings to him, in which some also are reported to cut off a piece of their tongue and throwing it at the idoll's feet have found it whole the next day able to live. I am afraid; to serve the father of lyes and lyers, how ever), yea, some out of impious pitty heere sacrifice themselves, cutting their throats and presently recovering. The holier the man the sooner forsooth he is healed: some (more grievous sinners) remaining made a day in paine before the devell will attend their cure. Hither they resort to crave children, to enquire of maney hidden by their parents or lost by themselves, which having made their offerings by dreames in the night receive answers: not one departing discontented. They report this pagan deity to have beene a woman (if a holy virgin may have that name); yea, that shee still lives (the devell shee doth) but will not shew her selfe. Divers Moores also resort to this peer [Pers. *pīr* a saint]. This Raja is powerful, by his mountaines situation secure, not once vouchsafing to visite Sha Selīm.

On this Rajaw easterly confineth another, called Deccamperga,² a mighty prince. His chiefe sent Caserv about an 150 c. from Agra, his country held 500 c. long north and south, 500 c. broad populous able to raise upon occasions five hundred thousand foot, but few or no horse. The land plentiful in it selfe, but sends forth little. To the eastward of this Rajaw betwixt Jemna and Ganges lyeth the land of Rajaw Mansa,³ a mighty prince and very rich, reported to be served with vessels of mass & gold. His country 300 c. long

¹ The temple of Bajreswari Devi: see the *Tārik*, vol. II, p. 204. and Terry (*infra*).

² It has been suggested that this is meant for Jde Chand Parkāsh, Rājā of Sirmān, and he had not yet come to the throne, and bearing in mind that Finch's is often mistaken for a c. (a), seems more likely than the earlier Rājā, Dharm Parkāsh, is in error. It is true that the latter had been dead for over forty years, but Finch's hearsay information is often inaccurate in such matters. ³ Calvary is Kanai, the ancient capital of Sirmān.

⁴ i. e. Jhwal. Here again Finch seems to be referring to a chief Rājā Mūn Bāh, *raja Jhwal*.

not one hundred and fifty broad, its chiefe part Serenagar
[Seragar], the mountaynes called Dow Lager [*Dhaulagiri*,
White Mountain] upon which in time of winter falls such
extremely snowes that the inhabitants are forced to remove
into the valleys. Yet doe I not thinke that any of these mts
extend furtherly above forty degrees, but the height of the
mountaynes exceed this extremity of cold. The Rajas and
extendeth within some 200 c. of Agra, part within 50 c. of
Syrianan; very plentifull

On the further side of Ganges lyeth a very rich prince
called Rajaw Horrow¹ governing a mountainous country,
his chiefe seat Cawrow. His territories extend 400 c. long and
not much lesse in breadth abounding with graine, many ex-
ceedingly sties, thicke commonly much muske, and even is the
great breed of a small kind of horse called galls *gunth* a true
travelling scale offe beast. His prince is possessed with but
fifty few horse or elephants the mountaynes cold rendering the
one and the cold exceeding the other. His lands toucheth
neare Cawm. To the south of this Raja thwart the
streames of Ganges is seated another, Raja Mugg² very
powerfull in horse, force and elephants. In his land is a great
rucke of natural diamonds which yields him no small benefit.
His land extend east somewhat south 700 c. from Agra.
Beneath him amongst the streames of Ganges keepeth a Portan
prince of the Dely kings race, wherein the King cutteth subtie,
by reason of the streames and lands of Ganges³. He contrarieth
upon Perrep, and muskes often invasions upon the Kings lands
challenging shal seeme to maintaine a front re army. Hence to
the mouth of Ganges is the Kings land, only in the mouth
the Portugall outlawes hold a small fort and doe much
mischance, living in no forme of subjection to God or man⁴.

This seeme to be the Raja Kaira Chah⁵ of Kaima though it had
been some years when Finch wrote. By Cawrow (Cawm?)
is probably meant Almora.

¹ A vague reference to the *Mugals* or *Mughals* see p. 26. The *Portugall* on p.
120 alludes to their connection with the *Arabianese* over certain
mines of diamonds, &c.

² The word *see* *Kaima* on p. 28 is meant.

³ These were the Portuguese pirates who had set up on the maps of
Sandwip and elsewhere.

On the fardierside of Ganges is the mightie king of Arracan, enjoying a large territory and infinite numbers of small barkes. Eastward from him is the kingdome of Sum, behind it Ova and Jangoma [see p. 98]. Betweene Tanassar [Tenesserim] and Arracan is the kingdome of Pegu; the land now lyeth waste. To the south is the kingdome of Queda, Malacca etc. On the sea-coast of Bengala this king hath two chiefe ports, Quagoo [Hügh] (tyrannized by the Portugals) and Poplee [Pippli], passing which and the land of Orixá [Orissa] you enter into the lands of Golconda, on whom Shá Sehm maketh warres, and hath forcibly taken ~~many~~ ^{part} of his land. His chiefe port is Masulipatan and his royall seat Braganadar [see p. 131] and Golconda, that hath banded. Alongst the seas side toward the Cape is the mightie king of Beweneger [Vijayanagar] under whom the Portugals hold Sríá Thomé and Negapatan, but are not suffered to build a castle. But I let passe these neighbouring Indies and returne to Agra the Mog's royall residence.

Agra hath not been in fame above fiftē yeeres, being before Akbars time a village, who removed (as you have heard) from Ferozpoor for want of good water. It is spacious, large, populous beyond measure that you can hardly passe in the streets, which are for the most part dirty and narrow, save only the great bazar and some few others, such are large and faire. The street lyeth in manner of a halfe-moone bellying to the land ward some 5 c in length and as much by the rivers side, upon the banks whereof are many goodly houses of the nobility pleasantly overlooking Gernán which runneth with a swift current from the north to the south, some what easterly into Gauges. Upon the banke of this river stands the castle, one of the fairest and admirablist buildings of the East, some 400 or 500 f. in lesse compass¹ enclosed with a faire and strong wall of squared stone, about which is cast a faire ditch, over it draw bridges. The walls are built with bulwarks somewhat lifelesse, repared² with a counter-scarfe or front without, some fifteen yards broad. Within this are two other

¹ Probably 'Ara' is intended.

² This is an exaggeration. The circuit of the walls is about a mile and a half.

embellished from regis, a groove or gut.

[illegible][illegible]

... we know as the *Agave* ...

$$T = \frac{1}{2} T_1 + \frac{1}{2} T_2$$
$$T = \frac{1}{\sqrt{1 - \beta^2}} = \frac{1}{\sqrt{1 - \frac{v^2}{c^2}}} = \frac{1}{\sqrt{1 - \frac{1}{16}}} = \frac{4}{\sqrt{15}} \approx 1.0328$$

End of the road was near the old disused watergate.

rising which hee salutes, and then his nobles resort to their Lodgings. I have seen the place where the King's out is a kind of scaffold whereon his nobles stand, but the address who others away below in the court. Here also every morn he looketh forth to be told the number of deer wat car-pards which is a custom on every day of the week, Sunday excepted on which is no fighting, but Tuesday on the contrary is a day of blood, both of fighting beasts and justice taken, the King judging and seeing execution.

To return to the *darogah*, when it you enter into a spacious court with a staircase rising above like steps or open stairs, whereon his captives according to their degrees keep their seventh day checkers, water, *chausi*. A little farther you enter within a ryle into a more inward court, where which none but the Kings address and men of sort are admitted, under pain of swacking by the porters judges, who lay on hand with it respect of persons. Being entered you approach the Kings door or seat, before which is also a small court enclosed with rails, covered over head with rich screens to keep away the sunne, where aloft in a gallery the King sits in his chair of state accompanied with his Council and the Vizier (who goes up by a short ladder for most of the court), no other without calling daring to goe up to him, save onely two portkaws to gather wind, an right before you below on a scaffold is a third who with a horsebane makes havoc of poor flies. On the right hand of the King on the wall behind him is the picture of our Saviour, on the left of the Virgin. Within these ranges none under the degree of four hundred horse are permitted to enter. On the farther side of this court of audience are hanged golden bells that any be oppressed, all can get the justice by the Kings officers, by ringing these bells when the King sits, he is called, and the matter discussed before the King. But at such times their ears be good, lest he be punished for troubling to trouble the King. Here every day between three and four a clock

Excerpt from the original manuscript of the text. It is the same as the text above, but with some corrections and additions. The text is written in a cursive hand and is somewhat faded. The corrections are in a different hand and are written in the margins. The text is as follows:

Excerpt from the original manuscript of the text. It is the same as the text above, but with some corrections and additions. The text is written in a cursive hand and is somewhat faded. The corrections are in a different hand and are written in the margins. The text is as follows:

saxe hundred miles! The way is set on both sides with
hundred trees.

King Ashurbanipal's palace is described to start from Agria in the way to Eber, no longer in the midst of a city, after three years work.³ It is placed in the midst of a fair and large garden enclosed with brick walls three miles in circuit. It is have fine gates (but one of which is yet in hand) and of unnumbered fountains, the foundation able to receive a great price with a reasonable price. Against the way side is a space as narrow for his fathers would (as is said) for the prince and his four wives and attending their household lord and enjoying the estate they before had in the Kings time by the payment of five hundred horse the principle, so that this should be to them a perpetual memory how rich they were. In the center of this garden stands the four square about three quarters of a mile in compass. The first on the side is with a great as high as was in your court some six steps also as a square garden enclosed with a wall has part with variety of sweets only enough to hold the garden a rounded with a garden enclosed also some square all of it with stone with four square gardens on each side having a garden corner a small beautiful turret round over it and covered with various marble. Between corner at corner are four other turrets at like distance. There was one fair round chapel of great with the body of this monarch who sometimes thought the word told him for it. The stone is seven with a high built by the Master of Gardens being a great and a great wall. Some of the twelve feet higher you would be started to the gateway, but the tower to the corner is a little so the rest that follow containing only three of those turrets between corner and corner. Here in the midst is a wonderful fair monument. The three story high but two of those are the turrets on a side the fourth and the fifth but only the corner turret and a very square gateway. The fifth was not finished at my departure, but by an accident of a cold

[illegible]

covered with a white sheet interwrought with gold flowers. By his head stands his sword and target [sancid], and on a small pillow his turbant and thereby two or three faire gilded bookes. At his feet stand his shooes, and a rich bason and ewre. Every one approaching acore makes his reverence and puts off his shooes, bringing in his hand some sweete smirng flowers to bestrew the carpets or to adorne the tomb.

At my last sight thereof, there was onlv over head a rich tent, with a sempane over the tunces. But it is to be mantled over with the most curious white and speckled marb le and to be seered all with a witha part sheet gold richly mwrought.¹ These four last turrets, also inclosing the sepulchre, are of most rich curious marb le and the ground interior paved with the like. There are in continual worke about this and other buildings about it, the mchell and gate, not so few as three thousand. The stone is brought from a rich quarry neere Buitopore, which wee have said may be cut in length and forme as timber with sawes, and planks and seelings are made thereof.

¹ This plan was never carried out. — Mr. Ferguson notes that there are traces in the structure of such an intention.

1612-16

NICHOLAS WITHINGTON

When, in February 1612, Sir Henry Middleton sailed away from Surat, with Captain Hawkins aboard, his flagship and prospect of the English obtaining permission to trade in the selected zone for ever, and Munim's subsequent exactions about the Ladnanjunks in the Red Sea were likely many cases to make the breach irreparable. This later development, however, was not yet known at Surat when, early in September 1612, Captain Thomas Best arrived at the river's mouth from England with the *Dragon* and *Hosander*. Mid had had fifteen hundred letters describing the way he had been treated, and at these times Best very doubtful of the possibility of trade, but the merchants he had brought were eager for further experiment and upon landing they were received with such apparent cordiality that they determined to stay as long as they could test the value of the promises made to them. Even when towards the end of the month one of the junks that had suffered at Middleton's hands arrived at the port the chief officials assured the English factors that what had occurred would make no difference in their attitude. In point of fact, the leading merchants were much impressed by the proof of the power of the English, and recognized that the intercourse with Munim, who was the mainstay of the trade of Surat, was at the mercy of any nation that was strong enough, and in the absence of Munim Khān who was now at court, also facilitated the establishment of improved relations. To remove the doubt this stuffled by Best the sea authorities on October 21 entered into a written agreement for English trade in Gujarat and promised that a *farmān* confirming it should be procured from the Emperor within forty days.

The news of this unexpected development roused the Portuguese Viceroy to action and at the end of November a fleet of four galleons, with a swarm of frigates under the command of Nuno da Cunha attacked Best's two ships only to be repelled with heavy loss. Soon after this the English, anxious to have sufficient sea room, left the shallows of the Taptar coast for the opposite side of the Gulf, and after some hesitation the Portuguese followed. On December 21 and 22 two more fights took place, ending in the defeat of

Dutchess County, New York
In the year 1860, I was residing at the residence of my father, John H. Smith, in the town of Dutchess County, New York.
I was born on the 1st day of January, 1860, at the residence of my father, John H. Smith, in the town of Dutchess County, New York.
I was educated in the common schools of Dutchess County, New York, and at the Dutchess County Academy, in the town of Dutchess County, New York.
I was employed as a clerk in the office of the Dutchess County Clerk, in the town of Dutchess County, New York.
I was married to Mary A. Smith, daughter of John H. Smith, in the town of Dutchess County, New York.
I have one child, John H. Smith, born on the 1st day of January, 1890, at the residence of my father, John H. Smith, in the town of Dutchess County, New York.

[illegible]

ments in *Letters Received*, vols. I-IV.

however, turned out to be failures. Truly was then directed to instruct one of the Emperor's chief musicians, who took such pains that in five weeks he was able to perform satisfactorily. However, his expertness brought on an illness which proved fatal a fortnight later, so Truly was left the only concert player in the kingdom. Though in very discontented mood, seeing that Jahāngīr, while often calling upon him to play, rewarded him only with fifty rupees in all. The results we are told, encouraged to induce Truly to teach the art to a couple of their servants, but this he absolutely refused to do.

It is time now to introduce Nicholas Wittington, the author of the ensuing narrative. This individual had to be out on the fleet as an able hand upon Captain Best's not uncommon method of getting a free passage to the Indies when unable to secure direct employment from the East India Company. At Surat he was taken into the service of that body on the plea of a deficiency of factors and (as he tells us) because of his linguistic attainments, probably he was acquainted with Arabic since it appears that he had been in Morocco a few years previous (British Museum Egerton MS. 2086 f. 10). For a time he remained at Surat learning the ordinary business and earning the language, but on intelligence arriving from Agra that Canning needed an assistant it was decided to send him thither. Before he could make a start however news arrived that Canning was dead, whereupon Thomas Keridge, one of the senior factors and afterwards President at Surat, was despatched to Agra instead. It was next proposed to send Wittington to England by way of the Red Sea, carrying letters for the Company, but this plan fell through owing to a fear that it would prove impossible for a Christian to pass unhindered through the Hejaz, and in October 1613 Wittington proceeded with Aldworth to Ahmadabad to assist in the purchase of indigo. Thence he visited Cambay and Sarkhej, of each of which he finds something interesting to relate. From Ahmadabad he wrote in November a long letter to the Governor of the East India Company, which is to be found in original in the British Museum manuscript added to above.

In December 1613 Wittington was called upon to undertake the remarkable journey which forms the chief attraction of his narrative. News had reached Ahmadabad that an English ship had arrived at Larikandar. He put down of Lytta, in Sind, and as it was evidently desirable to communicate at once with any merchants he might have left there, it was resolved that Wittington should proceed thither overland. It was not the first time a man had gone that way for many years, after Best's departure Anthony Starkey, steward of

was found that the Portuguese had no immediate intention of restoring their booty. M. Karrah Kasa was dispatched to Surat with orders to stop all traffic and to lay siege to the Portuguese town of Dada by way of reprisals. At the same time the Jami Masjid at Agra was closed and the factories were depopulated. The Mughal rulers had a heart's revenge. There was thus every hope that the Portuguese would be permanently expelled from the trade of Mogul India to the benefit of their English rivals.

A letter from Warrington at the end of October 1614 (*Letters Received*, vol. ii, p. 140) tells us that he had succeeded in getting together two dozen indigo and was only waiting to receive and dispose of some expected broadcloth and other European goods before starting for Surat. Now however everything went wrong with him. First his cargo was seized by the Governor of Agra who had been incensed by the Emperor for allowing some Portuguese to carry off their belongings, and who said his anxiety to see a further seizure would not allow the Englishman to touch his property until a *fardan* to that effect was obtained by Karrah, who was now with Jahangir at Agra (vol. i, p. 238). Then Warrington received a letter informing him that all the promised repayments of money from Surat to pay for his indigo could not be made, and he was consequently obliged to return the indigo to those from whom it had been bought. This occasioned much dispute and worry, and was only effected by the interposition of the Governor of Agra, who stated that some amends for his former treatment of the unfortunate merchant. Next the broadcloth which it came to him proved to be so damaged as to be almost unsellable, so that all his goods could only be sold at prices lower than those they would have fetched at Surat (*ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 15-60). These trials and vexations proved too much for Warrington, and for some time he was 'distracted'.

Meanwhile in October 1614 Captain Downer had reached Swally with a fleet of four ships. Among them William Edwards to be chief of the Company's affairs in India. Meanwhile, however, protests so vigorously against being superseded that the matter was compromised by sending Edwards to Agra instead, to present another letter from King James, and to look after English interests at court. The Company had expressly forbidden any of their servants to imitate Hawkins in assuming the title of ambassador, but inasmuch as there was a general agreement at Surat that some regular status than that of a merchant was necessary to secure attention from the Emperor, Edwards was authorized to represent himself as a 'messenger' sent expressly by the English king, and under this title he set out for Agra in December 1614. That he should be regarded at court as an

on his memorial embassy). Kerridge forwards a letter from Edwards, which he says accuses Withington of having not only wronged the Company by 'poor steads and other shames' but also then 'in infinit wronge in their investment', and in another letter addressed to Edwards he expresses a perfunctory regret that the officers 'withal and next day had apparently developed into a vile condition' which were 'now past hope of remedy'.

The factors sent to secure Withington performed their duty promptly, and he was carried to Ajmer according to his own account in irons. At that place, he would have us believe, he answered satisfactorily all the charges made against him, whereupon Edwards, not to be baffled, trumped up a false charge of drunkenness, imprisoned him and a little later sent him down to Surat in chains. Here again Kerridge's letters put a different complexion on the matter. In one of these, dated December 22, 1615, he writes: 'Last night Mr Withington and his horse came to our door drinking but would not come in fearing apprehension. I wrote out *Jaylors stand off jaylors*, more like a well man far than what you saw him last. None of his guards would have held one hand of him doing as not being counted to their charge. Such a confused seeing of a prisoner I have not seen. And reference to Bergee Scraw, who he got to his apour full of with Magads on the way that unhorse, beat and delivered him prisoner to the Cotwal, who this morning about 10 or 11 o'clock hath carried him to Samerthan. In another letter of the same date Kerridge says that Withington and esquire from his escort about sixteen days before. This is a rather different picture from that drawn in the text of an imprisoned prisoner lumbering meekly along the road in chains.

While still under confinement by the local authorities Withington seems to have found means to write to Sir Thomas Roe, then newly arrived at Ajmer. In a letter to Kerridge of January 19, 1616 (British Museum, Add. MS. 6115, f. 67) Roe says, 'I am sorry to heare of such disorder in the factories . . . and particularly for Withington, who hath written me a strange complaining letter, praying me to move the King. But I have busines of other importance now then to trouble him with his debaucheries. I shall be asked the King know I have such a countryman. But least necessity force desperate courses. I have advised the General . . . Keeling to rid him (so if he not make to the prejudice of the Company, and so as his wages in England may answer), only for our nations reputation. He foolishly threatens to curse me, if I relect he had not. I will do what is fittest, but care not for his blessings nor execrations'. The reference to 'desperate courses' is explained in Roe's letter to Keeling, in

have died before April 1624, when it was reported to the Company that his executor (probably the brother-in-law) had presented a petition to Parliament on the subject of his claims. Apparently nothing came of this.

From internal evidence it is concluded that Withington's narrative was compiled from his journal not long after his return, probably some time after his suit against the Company. A copy of the 'Travels' as he terms it came into the possession of Purchas, who printed a brief condensed version of it in his *Pilgrimes* (part 1, book 5, chap. 8). More than a century later the story was printed in much fuller form in a volume entitled *A Journey over Land from the Gulf of Honduras to the Great South-Sea, performed by John Lockhart and five other Englishmen*. To which is added a curious piece, written in the Reign of King James I and never before printed, entitled *A Brief Discov'rye of some Things best worth notice in the Travells of Nicholas Withington, a Factor in the East Indiese* (London 1735). This appendix itself dated 1711, is stated to have been printed from the original MS., and the unnamed editor, in his preface, tells us nothing of the way in which he acquired the document. Nor has it since been traced.

The present reprint follows the text of the 1731 version, which is about three times as long as that given by Purchas. It is evident however that the eighteenth-century editor imitated his predecessor in putting details worth a page to be as important as those Purchas had included some of them. The passages given by the latter have now for the most part been reserved either as notes or as unprinted ones (between square brackets in the text). On the other hand part of Withington's account of the outward voyage has been omitted here, as unnecessary for our present purpose.

The 28th. of June, 1612, wee departed from the Baye of Saldama [i.e. Table Bay] with prosperous wyndes, saylinge on in our voyage untill the 18th. day of Auguste, when wee crossed the Equinoctiall Lyne. And the 30th. daye wee sawe snakes swiminge in the sea, beeinge in the height of eightene and a halfe degrees to the norward of the Equinoctiall. And soe wee sayled on untill the fourth of September when wee

¹ The first of September they sawe and the second anchor against Driman (now inhabited and conquered by Portugals). The place abovesaid therein abbat remained in an In-Sorrit. Mazar An warth was sicken forty dayes' (Purchas).

came with a French sloop of the bay of Surat where wee met
with the *Humber* belonging one of our leete whose was rynged
at an anchor there saying godd in a pilot out of a route
of the country and lefte one of our carpenters under in
hostage for him who himselfe entryng some newe adventure
here when the Moones were from the shipps they cut his
throate and took what wee had as afterwards wee were
certayne we understood. Upon the 7th of the same moneth wee
arrived at the bay of Surat in the East Indias and the
thirteenth day wee came to Surat and were kindly enter-
tained of the Governor and the chiefes of the city. There is
an order in this country that strangers coming to a site an
inhabitant bee her a man of hisse fashion doe presente him
with somethinge or other and not to come on board tyll he
be called, insomuch that our people which wee sente firste in
state having nothing but money aboute them to give for
provision were faine to presente the Governor of the city
and other chiefe men with each a rovall of eight which they
knew we accorded takinge yt for a greate honour to bee
presented though at present hee but small.

[Notwithstanding Sir Henry Middleton taking their ships in
the Red sea yet they promised us good dealinge, counseling
else they must burne their ships (said Mr. Jeffes Mr. Jaffer
one of the chiefe merchants of Surat) and give over their trade
by sea. Impossible it was to have any trade at Surat by
reason of Portugall frigaes in the rivers mouth, therefore the
Governor repared with his ships to Swally whence he might
by land go and come without danger. The thirde of October
Shah Shadi Governour of Ahmadnir chiefe cite of Guzarat,
came to Surat and se to Swally and agreed upon an helpe
Master Carrington had been taken by the Portugals, but the
Viceroy continued to set him ashore at Surat saying
Let men give helpe to our country men by fight and then we will
take their ship and the rest of them altogether. But the
pursuit made at Swally and so came on us on the 11th Master
Carrington was set on shore at Surat according to promise and
so went aboard.]

Shahk Badi. He saith we have seen the Diwan not the Governor

Here wee remained treading until the 20th of November, when the same daye our ~~ships~~ ^{ships} lying in the mouth of the river of Surat lower Portulague ~~partook~~ ^{partook} with a whole fleet of 17 gallies came in sight of our two ~~ships~~ ^{ships} or rather one ~~ship~~ ^{ship} and a sycamore. Then our General on the *Dragon* presently waved anchor, and worthily encouraged our men not to feare them nor the greatnesse of the ~~ships~~ ^{ships} or fleet, but to shew themselves true Englishmen; and soe mett there aduall and v. zealous, and shot not one shote till hee came betweene them, and then gaue each of them a broad syce in a braye valley of shot, which made them giue way and come noe more neare for that daye. The other ~~ships~~ ^{ships} were not as well equipped as the *Oxander* could get cleare of her anchors, soe shee shot not one shote that daye, but the *Dragon* supplied her wante very well and in drawinge neare night they all came to anchor without sight of each other, and the next morninge waved anchors againe and began theire fight, in which the *Oxander* heauely defeated the *Lyne* shee loste the daye before. The *Lyne* *Dragon*, best ringe herke in some three howers hott fought drewe three of the gallies on the sands, and then the *Oxander* drawinge little water daunted the baye aboute them, and soe payed them that they durste not shewe a man on their deckes, klinge and spoylinge their men and battering the ~~ships~~ ^{ships} exsisting. In the afternoon too the baye came 11 gallies, with the ~~ships~~ ^{ships} of the frigates were affoly agayne and receaved a braye worcome of our ~~ships~~ ^{ships}; with whom they continued fought about foure howers, but much to there disadvantage and our grate honor. It beinge nowe night, wee came to our anchors, and there rode that night and all the nexte daye without meddling each with other. And the daye after the *Dragon* drawinge much water and the baye shallowe, the General went from trince and met on the thir syde of the baye at a place called Moudfring¹, where ad that tyne Saifar Chander² a great nobellman of the Mogalls, with

¹ A ~~place~~ ^{place} where he performed a ~~work~~ ^{work} and out.

² Moudfring¹ a town in the ~~country~~ ^{country} of ~~the~~ ^{the} Mogalls, a town on the coast of the baye of Surat.

³ Moudfring¹ the ~~place~~ ^{place} where the ~~work~~ ^{work} was performed, brother of Moudfring¹.

2000 horses, was beseege a ~~master~~ of the Barbories [Rajputs], master of Gwalior and formerly chief of the conquest of Gwalior by the Mogul, now ruler of the country but now live by robbery and ravage poor passengers by the way. Of this nobleman was our Generall very honourable entertained and presented with a valuable horse and furniture, which our Generall afterwards presented to the Governour of Gwalior (see p. 62) a porte-town to the westward of Surat.

About ten dayes after the shippes stave where they had trade and commerce with this place the Portuguese shippes and frigates havinge repaired their wounds with store of fresh men, came to the four shippes which made Sarrat (come although he had heard wee had put them to the worse in the other sayd upon our former fighte yet seeinge their greater make, borne in by force and quantity through his love to our Generall was verye fearful of the presence of the fligate and counsell'd our Generall to live which our shippes at hand and lein faint (that would) have shoud see their greater number should not wayle them against him. And soe havinge a this men about wave fanchours and with a brave resolute on sett on them, beatinge and speyinge them in such fashion that their whole defence was in flange away and in fewe hours space wee drove them cleave out of our sight and retained and honored with perpetual honour this daye beinge before thousands of the country people who to our nations great shame have envied the same fact and name. Sarrat (came after the ravage of his estate and takinge the rubies to paye rage to the Great Mogul, related to him a charge and reasons of this fighte which made the Kinge a more much formerlye thinkinge there had bin no nation comparable to the Portuguese by sea.

The 27th of December 1612, our shippes returninge againe came to Sualive havinge loste in all the fightes with the four Portugales only three men and those saylors and one man loste to our shippes off with a graine of the foot above else of our companye either hurt or wounded (that is see 1. foot) But the Portugales on the contrarye have have but one certayne of muel by those that sawe most of them buried)

had slayne 100 men. Some reporte 300 and odd, but themselves confesse 160. but sure their losse was more then they will confesse.

The 13th of Januarye, 1612 [1613] I (beinge at Surat), was sente for aboard by the General, where by a counsaile I was enterbayned, and bounde to the Worshippfull Companye of Marchauntes, and in regard of my languidge (which was of the re factars written) I was appoynted to remayne at Surat as a factor. And havinge entred into a bond of 100*l*. for the accomplisment of my service, I was this daye disperled from the General and ret. ned to Surat. Thers and manye other things accomplishe I was for the charge were set on shore, and the 18th of Januarye 1612 the shippes departed for England,¹ the gallies never offering one shot at them, havinge eaten manye dayes in sight of them. (Anthony Starkey was sent for England.)

Beinge at Surat, the 29th day of Januarye wee departed Mr. Wade Canong. for Agre. Havinge provided all things necessarye for his voyage & contentment, but he had a tedious and hard journey of yt. beinge 70 dayes & the waye betwene Surat and Agre. and underwrote manye troubles, beinge set on by the enemye on the waye, where shott and through the bodye with an arrowe and likewise one of his Houghboeren through the arme and killed a w. harte myne of his pygmies, & so on. he had bee unsked, but loste not my charge. but before his arrivall in Agre. wee was welcomed of his title. Soone after this, two of his Englishes² fell out with him and so afflicted him on the waye returninge to Surat, one of them brought away his best horse and furniture, which cost 20*l*. Soe Mr. Canong proceeded on his journey onely attended with two muskiers, and the 9th day of April arrived in Agre. And the next day was called before the Kinge, to whom hee delivered the Kinge of Englands letters and a presente, which was of noe greate value. which taught the Kinge ask him if our Kinge sente him that presente, he answered our Kinge sente him this letter, but the merchants sente him that presente. The Kinge graced him by givinge

¹ Really for A. Han and Bonam, before returning to England.

² Richard Temple and Edward Hunt.

him a cuppe of wyne with his owne hande (as Mr. Caninge wrote to us), and further tolde him that all his requests should bee granted, willed him to write home for all rich novelties wherein hee much delighted; and in syne referred him, for dispatch of his businesse, to Mochrobo Chame [Mokarrab Khan], a greate noblemann, whose objected first, some five or sixe marchants to reside in Agra, and wee should have a castle build for us at Mennofrobag; secondlye hee agreed, if noe marchants should bee in Agra, then another General might take our goods, as Sir Henry Middleton had done. Thirlye if for our sakes they should breake pence with the Portugall, as I then wee to have noe more saggie com in three or four yeeres, what satisfaction wee could make them for wrongs received by them from the Portugueses? To all which Mr. Caninge answered to contente, and Mochrobo Chame imparted his answer to the Kinge, whoe rested well contente therewith.

Some after his cominge to Agra, one of his muskians (a Jewe named Canong) dyed (which was the first yett presented to the Kinge). About the buriall of him Mr. Caninge had much trouble with the Portugall Fathers who would not suffer him to bee buried in their church-yard (a place which the Kinge gave the Portugall for buriall of Christians) yett wote Mr. Caninge but to have there. But the Portugals took him up againe, and buried him in the highwaye: where the Kinge hearing of made them take him up againe and bury him in the former place, threatening them not onely to turne them out of his kingdom, but alsoe their head budies, their countreymen, out of their graves.¹

Presentlye after, Mr. Caninge wrote to us of the danger in which hee lived in of beinge poisoned by the Jesuits: and therfore desired that I, Nath. Witherington, might come up to him, as well to assiste him in his present affaires as alsoe to

¹ Kerridge *Letters Received*, vol. 2, p. 283 gives a different account. He says that the Jesuits hesitated to bury a European, and without the knowledge of his countie, and he, on the death of the latter, Truly he was both bodies together in one grave in the Christian cemetery, at a good distance from the other tombs, an arrangement to which the Jesuits made no objection.

followe our suite at court in case of his mortallitye: whereupon it was concluded amongst us at Surat by a counsel that I should departe with all convenient speede for Agre. Presertive after this, there came a posthar¹ with letters from Agre certifyinge us of the death of Mr. Cuning² and alsoe how the King had taken order that all his goods shoulde be kept safe till some of our Englishmen shoulde come to take charge of them, whereupon yt was agreed that I shoulde proceede on my purposed journey to Agre: but exceptions was taken by one Thomas Kyrtidge, whoe asseverged that Mr. Cuninge beinge dead the place belonged to him. In fyne hee was superseded for Agre: but before his departure it was considered amongst us that some one of us shoulde goe for Bagdad and overland from Mocha, with letters to advise the Worthyfull Companye of our proceedings. And now in regard that within some eighte or ten dayes there was a shipp of this place bounde for Mocha in the Redd Sea in which shipp we mighte right well in two moneths travell be in Alexandria in Turkey: so that by an overland hee might the sooner in England then if hee should goe by the way of Aleppo. In fyne our Agente proponed this journey to mee, N W^{ch} which I, perceivinge the necessity of settinge one and that none other woulde attempte the journey gave waye to undertake. Soone after we wrote for the master of the shipp that was bounde for Mocha and a private man with our letters: whose toold us that it was impossible for a Christian to passe that way, unlesse hee were christianized: noe Christian beinge suffered to come neare Mecca³ where the reprobate Mahomet was buried: by which place I muste of force passe to goe to Alexandria. The like wee heard alsoe of verye others, which made us that especiallye myselfe not havinge a desire to bee cutt off to give over our determination. Yet not withstandinge we hired a fellowe that understode the Arabian tongue and had formerlye ben that way to carrye our

¹ Posthar, *post-har* (from *post* and *har*).

² The name of the ship was the *May* 26th 1615, and that it was bound for Agre on the 2nd of the following month. The day of the ship's departure was May 12th 1615, and it arrived at Agre on May 27th 1615.

³ Mecca has Mecca, which is exactly named, though Mehammed's tomb is really at Medina.

letters to Alexander by that conveyance, who departed in the shyppe, and at his arrival in Mocha, hee hearing newes that all our long shippes were destroyed, and our goods confiscated for the attempt of Sir Henry Middleton, who not longe before had robbed divers in those parts, hee therefore durst not prosecute, but returned our letters in the shyppe, which arrived at the barre of Surat the 13th of September, 1611, and was taken by the Portugales armedo of frigatts, notwithstanding their passe which they had of the Portugals. This shyppe was verie richly laden, beinge worth a hundred thousand pounds, yet not contented with the shyppe and goods, but took alsoe 700 persons of all sorts with them to Goa, which decided fauours is nowe growne soe shalow that it is like to bee for after anything of the Portugals in these parts, the huge charge yt soe lavishly that they sawe, soe shalow a charge contrarye to their passe, insomuch that the Portugale passeth that waye without a murdre, neither can anye Portingale passe in or out. Merchants of Surat are by this means impoverished, and our goods left in our badde is, with which we went to Amalshat.]

Not longe after there came one² to us whoe had rane awaye from Sir Henry Middleton to the Portugales, and with them had continued til his change to us. He informed us of the escape of the Portugales, which we affirmed to bee verie weak, as that that time and divers of these towne besieged by the Deccanes and other Moores the neighboures insomuch that they were fayne to sende out of theire towne manye hundreds of poore labouring people, and others that dwelt amongst them, for want of victuals, [three hundred of which came to Surat and divers others to Cambaya. Their weaknesse in fight wth is rehearsed this.]

There came likewise with us one² that had formerlye runne awaye from our shippes to the Portugales, and agayne from them to us, and in his waye passage amongst the Deccanes countrye, he was perswaded by another long shipp that was armed Moore and Arabians to take Moore, which hee

The *Indica* belonged to the Queen Mother.

See also *Indica* in the *Indica* of the *Indica*.

The *Indica* of the *Indica* of the *Indica* of the *Indica*.

Sutton and Lodge in the Governor's warre where wee were safe from theives. In the morning wee beinge readye to departe the Governor sent his men to iske the Indians somethinge. They were contente with 8 pieces of beaver which is a wale of 400 skins. And travell beinge further on our journey we came to a towne called Brothers Barrow which is but a little above a set of five houses where wee bought some commodities for our trading. And about ten courses from thence we came to a river called Wasseth where wee founde Muscadichane, Misoffkanan Governor of Bradra and a friend to our English with his armye ranginge readye to fighte with the Rishonies that live on the other side of the river to the number of 20000 horses and manye foot. Wee visited him and presented him with a letter, and towards night peace was concluded betwene us and the rebells. The chief of their beverage captain and of the rest of the eight Kings of Shutt came over the river to visit the Governor, but before they came hee sente over his whole armye which put themselves in battell array for feare of any treachery for the yeare before the brother of this rebell overcame in the same manner the Muscadichane whoe caused his friends to bee cutt and after some ravage of his soldiers the brother rebell to prevente the like sente over his whole armye first and then came armed himselfe beinge compassed with some forty of his chiefest soldiers all armed with speares and we presented himselfe before Muscadichane givinge him a while to see witnessethings were done and as muscadichane did see knowlege the handle of the Governor presently againe Muscadichane likewise the same night wente to Bradra and left us the title of his horsemen to accompany us on our waye.

¹ Purchas gives the names of the ship. From Sora I went to Perano. And there I sawe the country. Kasau is a little village 10 or 12 dayes journey from Sora by the river on a bark. I sawe with a windmill. I sawe many houses builded. There were some of the English and Indians. There were some of the Indians. I sawe a house of about four miles from Sora. I sawe a house of about four miles from Sora. I sawe a house of about four miles from Sora.

² The Map Wasseth is really Wasseth the place where the barrow crosses the river.

and also sent us one of his elephants to transport our goods over the river the water being high. [T. N. Read [Nara] 141: a great one who would carry much.]

The twenty-second day we came to Mandayar which is the chief city of Geyseratt and is very rich as big as London with a very strong wall so that in the place by the river side. There are merchants of all places as well as well Christians as Moors and Jews. The commodities of this place are cloth of gold, silver, saffron, velvet, that not comparable to any other, also a great number of stuffs, and divers drugs, with other commodities. Here we took a house to live in a place where divers Arabian merchants and other Christians. The next day we visited Abou Chah² Governor of this place (a rich man of 5000 horse power) and presented him with a vest of cloth and other trinkets of small value, but he expected greater matters, which worth a great presentive dismissed us without any grace.

Shortly after our Agent sent me to Canbaya gave me 200 rupees, every rupee plaining 2s. 6d. to buy of all sorts of commodities which I should find there for our trading and to inform myself of the place, which I think cost me that with greater danger of robbery. [Seven course to Harango [Barug] where every Tuesday the city [see p. 146] of Canbaya made and so kept company for fear of thieves. Then a stern course to Soculatra [Sojtra] a fine town well fortified with soldiers. Departed at midnight and about eight of the clock next morning came to Canbaya. And the 30th day having bestowed my 200 rupees in such commodities as I thought for our trade in the afternoon being ready to depart the Governor sent for me and showed me our King's letter of England which General Baste brought, to which he said it was sent him from the King to have it translated and intended me to do so. But I excused myself saying the necessity of my

¹ Probably another great one, *gauri* = *gaur* = *white* = *white* = *white*.

² Abou Chah, *Frans* (Frans) was brother of *Abou Chah* (1611 to 1616).

³ Six three yards and a half = *one* *yard* *and* *a* *half*.

presente departure, and wth hallough I am that yt was a matter of more importancie then for mee to see yt in me without the knowledge of our Agents and desired him to sende yt to Amadavar to our Agents and Ie without doubte w^o I translatte yt, which the factor did. See how strangely it was translated.

Livinge well overcome our business, and but little to doe wee rode to Serkesse [Sarkes], see p. 153] (some three cottes from Amadavar) which is the chief place where they make their bottles and there wee spent two or three dayes in seeinge the makinge thereof. In this towne are the sepulchres of the Kings of Guyssatt a verie delicate churche and many houses, which are kepte verie comelye, whither there is much resortinge from all parts of the kingdome to visit their houses. Alsoe aboute a myle and a halfe off there is a verie fayre and pleasant garden of manye aboute which compasseth a verie fayre and stately house, seated delibeately by the river-side; which house Chou Chan is now the chief staye of the Moguls, and in memoriall of the greivous victorie which hee gotte of the late Kinge of Guyssatt takinge him prisoner, and likewise brought all his whole kingdome in subjection of the Great Mogall as yt still continueth, in remembrance whereof the battell beinge fought in this place hee built this house and planted the orchard and rayse the high wall rounde aboute yt. Nowe many dwelth in this house, onlye a fewe poore men that are byred to keepe the orchard cleane. Wee lodged in yt one night, and sente for sixe fishermen, that a losse then halfe an hower took in the fishe then all our companye could eate, and sone after returned to Amadavar agayne.

Here in Amadavar is a Jesuite¹ ministrye to converte

¹ The khānkhanā see p. 154 is meant. The remains of the *Fatih Bey* the conqueror of Victory laid out in 1584 are still to be seen near the lake at Sarkhej.

² He was probably Jean de Borne who is described by Pyrrard as having a home place as he is going to Surate and another place to Verdon. When Pyrrard left on 21st April 1610 he had some live goats to send at home. Karraige me amsur in Sept. 1610 or 1611 after week 15 as having gone to court with Mukarrab Khan. For other information see Father Hudson's article on Jesuit missionaries in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of India*, 1910, p. 539.

heathens to Christianity though we had a little profit thereby. Herberto yet stuck to his low vocation. He told us that they were a people absolutely predestinated for hell. He being a Frenchman was very open to our Agents and matters, and likewise much known unto him his own poor estate and stage. I had nothing to rate by reason of the amburagement of the Portuguese and their goods, and at last incited our Agents to lend him some money or give him some for God's sake. Our Agents, seeing the poverty of the poor man, gave him ten rixers, viz. ten shillings for the which afterwards he wrote to him a thankful letter but without leaving him to a rixyl which I wrote his friend of last, to be well to go to receive a good time. In conclusion he acknowledged that he had needs of it.

The 12th of December¹ we had certayne intelligence by letters that there were English ships arrived in Synda at Jewshander², whereupon it was thought fit by our Agents (myself thereto consenting), that I should instantly take my journey thither to them, to inform them of our settled factory and to advise them of their duties, and to be for our and their trading. Whereupon I prepared all things necessary and the next day (starting) on my journey. And the first night I became acquainted with certayne merchants bound for Synda of whom a assistance was won. It will please and glad keeping company together till it pleased two Captains by letter³ to separate on our way. The 15th of December 1613 we came to a place called Ladwala. The town the King's father builded Acchra after the conquest of Guyssath in which thither gave him a company of women and their posterie for ever (supposed) without to be sold and bring up their children in the same profession, which is dancing etc. At our being here the women of the town came out to receive and danced every man giving them some

¹ Purchas says November 28.

² Purwas and clawas. Jewshander. It is Labrianar, the old port of Latta in the mouth of the Indus.

³ For a more accurate The thirteenth in December came to Cass where we were a day and night. Had we had a more exact journey on my way. For some to say a way is more sure. Therefore I will not say more.

things, and afterwards they went on foot. Wee wanted a
bed-fellow? we should lose they were. Wee departed from
the tenth day. The twentieth we came to Garva Khowa? ^{where}
where a well-furnished fortress; and the eighteenth (all)
which for four of the days, wee stayed for another caravan
to Dekkann. Dekkann our chief stone and a star
stone. And the fifteenth day we came [10 c] to Boloda, a forte
kept by Newlocke Atam? (a brave soldier) for the Mogul.
wee was that day returned from battle, bringing home with
him 100 heads of the Goones (Kolas a thousand caste of
mailliers (mailliers?) that live by robbing and spoil
more people for sergeants of the highwaye. The twentieth [10 c]
to Sarang-ga, a fort. Wee still kept on our journey, and the
21st day we came [10 c] to Ra-nagore. Ra-nagore, a huge
towne. Day-ga a forte kept by it and a company of brave
soldiers. Wee stayed here two days to provide ourselves
of provisions for the desert journey, there being nothing
to be had on the way. Not six paces as fresh water for our
camels, nor any other victuals for them or ourselves. The
22d day we travelled [10 c], and at last (weir) the first (Met
village of robbers, f. d. from Lotta. The four and twentieth
[10 c] Despatched one of my plots to Lowrlander with a letter
which promised to do it within dayes, but I think was shone.
The five and twentieth [10 c] Lodged in the fields by a well
of water, but it was soe salt that wee could not use yt. The
six and twentieth [10 c] to such another well. This day we
gave our camels water which we brought from Raddis-
pore, they not havinge drinke of three dayes, which is much
wto them there after travell. Soe we travelled the 27th day
[10 c] and have in the fields as before, havinge nothinge but
what wee brought with us. And the 28th day [10 c] we came
to Segar Parker [Nagar Pärkar], a poore towne, yet with good
store of provisions for travellers. In the desert that wee had
passed wee sawe greates abundance of wilde asses, redd deer,
foxes, and other wild beasts. This towne? (wherein wee

Purusha ca. j. l. m. New-sek Atam Abate. This man intended
for Nūruḥāh Ibrāhīm Kābuli.

¹ Purusha addition here. they met with an other caravan, robbed
we had two dāmas, j. m. v. m. f. m. d.

and we travelled 10 c. to Caudayaw where we had been ordered
 but for our guard. The boat was departed from Caudayaw
 (which town is full of robbers) and setting forward from thence
 about half of the day we were set on by thieves but
 having some warlike apparel we shot this wilds we could,
 bringing our arrows to the point about us to range at a mark the
 the still down which they would do with a certain large
 word and so we were with them as in a battle plucking our
 bows and arrows yet not to kill the thieves, for our
 guide had given us charge. I discharged my pistol twice at
 them. At the last I caught our guide's person as he was
 contribute to take of us his arrows, and so to kill the thieves.
 Some three hours after we were set on a very brave
 more and we were driven to a former shaft and in time
 as the river did so we did there we sang upon the like as
 in the first. So this night we came to Sarraun a private
 town of the Banchow with a castle in it some 14 miles
 from Fata. When we the Governor called Roger (Bower)
 he a great noble of Sarraun had told of the state of the king of
 Syon, and he said was captured from his predecessors by
 the Persians. This Sarraun Bui Bell was lately taken prisoner
 by the Mughal who put out his eyes yet not long after
 he escaped and came to this living now upon the
 mountain and hath given me sorrow and kindred charge
 to rescue the face of his eyes of his persecutors that he left
 on being gone to the Mughal that this I did not of all the
 wards. So the Roger entertained us very kindly saying
 he was glad we had escaped from them that would have
 brought us. In the night he did for things we were but
 the course for our journey and yet there was much danger
 on the way. He was especially kind to me seeing me
 a white man and of a fair country (as my interpreter told
 me), and ask me many questions of the state of my
 country. I charge and delight to hear thereof, and at my

Of anyone who are made of silver the point tagg words of
 just as he said. I said it was a very good one and
 it was used in some of the same and was very good.

It had *emarginal note* between and the first cannot be
 meant to.

Two months before this we came to the version in Purchas

company's departure willed mee to stay with him, makinge me suppe there and gave mee much wine, drinkeage, bathes, together in one day. For hee was almoste stowe¹ and then sette mee to lay my selfe, and much victuals with mee.

Here wee remained the next day, and towards night I mett with a Barbar, whose name thid was from Tatta, who told mee that Sir Robert Smythe, with his wife and three or four English women, with seven or eight English men, were in Tatta. This Barbar came to Sir Robert's quarters from Lowry's house, in a shippe with such then on shore at Tatta and reported thence² there, sayinge the English shippe, not yett yett sealed there. Hee told mee howe Sir Robert had been in a chaspe at Lowry's house, both by the Governor and the Portuguese, and howe the Portuguese came on shore on the night and tyred Sir Robert's house, byrtinge many of his men, and likewise at his arrivall at Tatta. Three dayes journey he to Lowry's house, Merca Rusto,³ then Governor of Tatta for the Mogall, used him verye unkindlye, and tooke frendshipp with him, and what hee never pleased him, purpouse to serve him up to the Mogall. He also relate howe Sir Robert then staid night when hee was at Sir Robert's house.⁴ Hee desired mee to intreate the Governor of this place to leade us thide of his road, as to gates, as to Tatta, which in tyme I did, and sette the Rages for a present 40 lards, which hee took by olde promise to bringe us thide with 50 horsemen, to the gates of Tatta, and without more, made mee believe that yt was for my sake that hee wente thide.

¹ Stared in Purchas.

² "and" here and elsewhere in the printed version. It is explained in the margin as a "pedlar".

This was the first person commanded by Christopher Newport to visit Sir Robert's house. The account of the visit is related from a copy made in 1609 by Barrow, and is a version of the original text. From the original text it is clear that the first person to visit Sir Robert's house was a man named "A" who was a friend of Sir Robert's. "A" was a man of high rank and was a friend of Sir Robert's. "A" was a man of high rank and was a friend of Sir Robert's. "A" was a man of high rank and was a friend of Sir Robert's.

"A" was a man of high rank and was a friend of Sir Robert's. "A" was a man of high rank and was a friend of Sir Robert's. "A" was a man of high rank and was a friend of Sir Robert's.

My husband's son, who has recently been appointed Governor of Sind. The version in this has note that the Bantian told of the great feast of Tatta, the table that he had seen, and that a supped there some time might be seen, a lower table.

which made my companions thinke themselves happier in my companye, and were more merry then ever I sawe them before.

The 11th day in the afternoon wee laded our cammells the Hager with his companye beeing readye to depart from Samarra, next mornight rode five courses, and rested by a river-side. The Hager sente for fishmen, whoe tooke care in halfe an hower then at the companyes good este. Wee stayed that night with the Hager, hee tollage us that by one of the wicks in the mottage hee would deliver us with the gates of Tatta, which was as ad verve merrye. At two of the clocke in the morning hee had us lade our cammells, and then led us alonge by the river-side aboute a myle and halfe, sayinge the river was too deepe for our cammells to passe, and then led us a chaine contrary way, as wee perceived, which made us greatlye scorne his wile. And aboute twenkyght of day wee came oute in three valley of wood myrred about with hills in place moode fit for our bloudy game to playe. Ios pretended he was intangled, tragedye. And beinge in the midst of the thicket the holes made the cammells, for he would see when withall they were enter would beeing done, hee caused us all to be bounde, and our weapons to be taken from us. Then opened the fard by the hidden and founde grante store of don, founte, wyer, and treasure and other rarities, which made them valiantlye companions. A Amharatwentye thousand cupare (each cupare beeing 20 *bol*) as they had formerlye could rise. The Hager seinge this bootye and rich conceited to kepe the marshall and all their servants, and for companye would have had him kill over all my men also, alleging as good saye as I knowe, but my men meares hee would forthwith strike, telling them I was of a verve furr countrey and would doe them no harme withoute paymte. In the morning I and my companye that I should not goe for Tatta, hee as the fard of Tatta there, but we would sende piece back againe to Amharat from whence I came, so raised us four men presentlye to be inbourde, makinge us sit close by my selfe, and sud mynly caused his men to smyte the three itard and to

* * A course is a mile and a halfe English. *ms. has note.*

and there by men, I saw the runners carrying about the re-
tacker and with a double turn round twisted the ropes until
they were strangled and then stripped them naked and made
a grave hole in the earth and threw them in—bag, their,
which done, the took from me my horse and gave me two
of my dead companions horses. The took from me some
cups, a dish of the copperware knives—and some sent me
an my rich with four of the horses to a brother's of his
warily did he some twelve cantons off the place up to the
countrymen and one about Monday departed me from
him.

Being now on the way I saw a brother a new recruit
full of courage, for that my companion told me that the four
brothers that went with me and order to let us all when
we were some two or three courses off was upon that
we placed a tree in a creek in a hollow for a new making
a new residence to day, and the country men of a garrison
prevented the horse men from going to see. Nor with a
walled fort—God knows, I rode for an hour within sight,
it would have been easy to have taken on the top of a
very high hill belonging to the Rages where I say that
night became known well known by my great danger met
and my own and her—well secured. The next day we up
the hill of a mountain (Hill) we traveled a long
way without any baggage over terrible high rocks and
rocks at a rate a long way on to the Rages's brother's house.
I where I was received and order given him by my guide to
keep me till he heard further news from the Rages. This
man used me very well and gave me a horse and in his house
to stay and room for my horse. The next morning the
four brothers and brought me together returned to the
master having met in the place, were I could stand 22 days,
but he never suffered to stir out of doors at a horse. They did
not let my horse out as but those that brought us a steady
two or three which were never wanted.

Now that night I was I said I should never get thence
without but I was told that the ill day of the reserve order
came from the Rages to let brother to send me to the fort
and there I was taken to the fort that was likewise of

there kynred) and hec shold sende mee to Handesporc.¹ Then lewe the R^{oy}es brother Comen^{er} and wold that the nexte daye I shoulde goe and he wold sende there of his horsemen with mee two dayes journey and there hec and another brother that shold bringe mee to Parker. Soe the nexte daye we departed with our guides and that night we came to a village called Norwiche where we were welcomertayned of our paydes and lodges there that night. The mornynge we rode thre dayes more, but were not arrived before we wold the toun and then came to the towne of ~~_____~~ that I was comyned to be delayed into. And the nexte daye the men that brought mee thither released. This daye (for all the sorowes of the Souldardes called Hageres) I receyved a promise with two dayes to goe with mee hither to Parker havinge (as we sayd) harnesse there. But my captaine tarrye seven dayes yet used mee kindlye, and afterwards he sent mee away with hys of his handes to a ~~_____~~ and gave me harnesse. With this I was led to a terrible dayes journey which almost kiled mee and my poor horse and horse. At the four dayes end my deliverer came to a ~~_____~~ of the kynred of the freite of Surrey, at whiche place I sevedayes with him, but at lyste he departed for all the one of his men to goe with mee. These dayes taryng me even wearde of my life. At the lyste (throught my dysposicion) I wente away the twentye seventh daye with a ~~_____~~ of men to accompanye me, who carried mee the eight dayes more abundantly, and there gave mee the sixtieth daye. At lyste I had soe fast I was fayne to sende my men into the vylage to begge, who brought mee a hewe of wood and some cattowes milk. Whiche I eatenge wher mee extreame sick that night. But for my horses they could not recover save onlye a little stubble and grasse, which they gotte in the mornynge which made them worse able to travell. This night there was roges, soeinge I had verye good apparrell of the countrey fasshion and a little of usete,² wher I myght have thinge to warme my selfe with, wher I was to warme mee of all which they did sende me neither more nor less at any thinge.

¹ At Handesporc there are now very few Handspores.

² A little usete as we say now.

³ Clothe? (cf. 102).

have only our breeches which d^{id} we, they left us with our horses which were not worth an lak ^g. This deserve write nearer my harte than all the former, because nowe str^upped of ad and lavinge nowe two third parts of my way to go to Amadavar, not knowinge the route of the way, and the weather cold, which made our almoste wearre of my selfe and my men and hartesse rather a faile of grace. Yet even thinge my selfe and men the best I coue. The firste of March, 1613 [1614] I went on without a guide, not knowinge one route of the way but onlye by goose and travellled a daye longe and towards night came to two or three houses of poor cattine men is cou^t kept cananda in the mountaynes, to whom we left the cananga which wee had recovered by our physicians curinge us. The poor people made nothinge of us, sayinge to us as virtually as they had, and one of them proposed to lead us into the way that goes to Parker from thence some twy dayes journey. In the morninge wee went with us some three carres, puttinge us in the longh way and so left us, but wee passage our way made four dayes journey to Parker. My horse tiringe I was faine to goe on foot, and because it had formerlye travell'd verye softely. And everye daye we came to a little village and begged for our victuals, findinge all the inhabitants of it idle people. So the sixth daye at night we came to Parker, almoste ye wearre and beinge. I sent two of my men to prouve what they could do for mee with begginge, but they brought me nothinge, so I byed that night, and the next morninge I sente one of my horses to see what the man would give above four manadans¹ for him. Yet I should have been forced to have sold him for that, but by good chance I met with a Bar an merchant of Amadavar whom I had formerlye knowne, whose words I overthrew that case and after manye kinde salutations offered mee what money I would aske, not sufferinge mee to see my horse. Then it pleased God to seeke mee twice, when I was in grante necessities, not knowinge what to doe to gett provision for my journey over the mountaynes to Amadavar whether of force I muste have gone, but it pleased God to make mee this knowne. He furnished mee and my men with clothes and

¹ Manu = (see p. 77). The margin explains the crisis shambas.

was able sufficient to serve as a filler deserte and gave me new provisions in my purse, payinge all my expences whilste I stayed here, which was four dayes: and then, havinge good companye which wente to Radingpore, I wente alonge with them. The house Bannu commended mee unto them and brought mee one course on my way and then returned to Parker, where hee had businesse for ten dayes, as hee said.

Nothinge worthinge passed in our way over the desert, onlye the superstitious customs of the people, which I will hereafter expresse. Wee were six dayes betwene Parker and Radingpore. And the nineteenth of March I came to Radingpore, and there fell exceedinge sick and recovered soe six dayes, like to dye then live. And the twenty-sixth of March 1614 beeinge somewhat amended and good companye ready to departe for Annadavar I strayed chafeste with my sickness and departed with them, givinge some of my clothes to one of the companye for hire to use as my monee for a five borrowel beeinge spent in my sickness. And after seven dayes travell I arrived in Annadavar (the Lord be prayse), beeinge 111 dayes since my departure first from London to Seada. I founde mee I had a letter, onelye a letter which our Agents left with an Armenian for the advantage me of Native Tringe. So I stayed here two dayes, and provided my selfe of apparel and a mule and a horse.

Soe the fifth of April 1614 I departed from Annadavar (Hindraw way) to Serrah. And the seventh day I came to Carhava, where I fell sick againe and soe continued five dayes very ill. And beeinge somewhat recovered and able to travell the twelfth day of April I left Carhava and passed the large river that nigot (which river is about seven course broad verve dangerous to passe and scarce swal with many hundrets) to Sarrau (Sâroo). On the other side the river is a towne and castle of the Razbootees. The sixteenth of April I travell'd 25 c. to Bepet [Brouel]. The seventeenth I passed that river, and 10 c. to Cassarh [Kosakha]. The eighteenth, 13 c. to Serrah.]

[Concerning Serrah, see also a by general report of grower

From this we learn that his route was, as before (see p. 200), via Gurgin and Serrah to Cambray.

trade on the Indus near Tatta. The chief port lower on or three days journey from it is a fair trade without the rivers much cleared of worms, which about Surat especially and in other places of the Indus after three or four months' ruling if it were not for the flood, would hinder returning the pearls and pieces of Sancyan fire. In two months are it hence by water they go to Lacc and return in one day. There are these cotton trees and the saffron grows, but is not so good as Bama. Good may be served from Agra on carts to Bacter in twenty days which is on Sindu River. Thence in fifteen or sixteen days a round the steps. One may go as soon from Agra to Sind as Surat, but there is a river crossing which the Moguls seek to prevent.]

Now as concerning the inhabitants of Sindh they are for the most part Rasboornes, Barmans and Barmies (Baruchas). In the cities and greater towns there are Goxmors or Moories, appointed to rule there for the Great Mogul. The people of a country I mean those who are settled out of the cities are for the most part very poor, who go naked from the waste upwards, with turbans on their heads such as I have described in the Moguls. For arms few of them use gun, bowes or arrowes, or sword buckler and all. Their stock it is made very great, and the fashion of a buckler which which consisted seven days will give their camels, make of their horses, provision. They are very good good horses very swift and strong, when they will ride a mile as natchly as we can gallop. They begin to buckle their at twelve months old. The soldiers sent are not worms, if occasion serve we ride in their quarters and enter into a city, where they lodge up for that purpose. These are the Rasboornes whom as the Moguls say, know as well how to dye as any men in the world in regard of their experience. They like Barmans are partive of Persians complexion. They will ride not back nor on a low and better than any play can do that. They will keep the living, manage not rats any thing for all or gones a fair way. There are 30 old cities in the country.

¹ *Chandaband* *Chandaband*.

² *Arabs* *Arabs* *Arabs*.

³ *Chandaband* *Chandaband* *Chandaband*.

of them that there is some things in their religion as by
 law we have about cattle one with another. Yet they abhor
 all other things there and not havinge toom as the Moores
 doe.

When the Barman dies, his wife after the burriage of her
 husband shaves her head and wears no more her jewels,
 in which state she continues till she dye. When the Bar-
 man dies, his wife wears no beaver goes to her friend
 accompanied with her best apparells and
 accompanied with her friends and kindred truckers much
 joye havinge to do with them. And cometh to the place
 of burriage the day beinge much snowed some havinge
 canes of birch to assist the price. First she bewaies a
 husbandmans death and rejoyneth that she is now free
 to goe and live with them agayne and then in thankes for
 fre is alwayes a rowle of such type of such le of wood and
 cry-stokes, makinge her husband's head in her arms and so
 with them to sell fyer on the wood, wood beinge done
 the friends growe rich and buyers other things with sweet
 perfumes, apparel her and she comes to the day when she
 perceiveth that she to be a buried beeinge used and not bounde
 Of this manner of burriage I have seen manye. The firste
 that I sawe was a Sorrell with an Agente and the name
 of our Englisher. It was a verye sad thinge. The woman which
 was buried was not above ten years of age and she never
 lived with her husband. But she was. Her beverge
 so sweet and good to put service was saye it to be a boy
 and then buried but as she was a little white was brought
 home with rows of us and she reported how she was
 made her friends and so made preparations for it. And
 beinge readye to saye those for self with her best
 clothes which she had with her ornaments from the Governor
 that she could not dye in regard she had never given with
 her husband which was soe look wonderful. I passed the
 waye that to sell fyer on the wood presently saye
 her husband was a glasse waye before her. But they did
 not burne her either of them with the Governor and
 attended the givinge her a present for the same which
 when they enjoyed they returned and with great joye to

For as she would burne her to ashes with her children's clothes, and then caste the ashes into the river. This was the first time ever I sawe at the sight whereof our Viceroy was so grieved and amazed at the unadvised resolution of the young woman that I perceived her words were serious, but not in earnest, as it would have lived. The kindness of the husband that does never force the wife to burne her selfe, and her wife when her husband is a greater enemy to their families if she should live to be burned, which some have done, but very few. And if this will not burne (it being in the red clay), then she muste slave her master and breake her jewels and is not suffered to cate, drinke, or keepe company with any bodye and soe velle in this case consume till her death. Nowe if any one of them purpose to burne and after ceremonies done, her brought to the fire, and there, feeling the scorching heate, leape out of the fire. Her father and mother will take her and bynde her and throw her into the fire and burne her per force, but such weaknesse seldom happens amongst them. For the reste of the ceremonies there washing, honoring of stocks, stones, and cows with a hundred other superstitious ceremonies too large to recite. I will here omit. And thus much for the Rasthoobies and Bamuns.

Nowe for the Beroobies of Synda alahab are near the river they are Moors of the religion of Mahomett (as the Great Mogull of King of Decan is). They are a people that deal much in trafficks, and in those parts most of them are robbers on the heigh way and as soon as the river that comes such as they robbe. About the year 1640 I was in Synda the Beroobies took a boat wherein were seven Portugals and one Portugall boye which fought with them and were savinge every man, only the Portugall escaped alive, while he was very fatt they ripped up his belly and searcht whether there was any good repository in his guts. Of kelyhood these Beroobies living there are become very much Maynues, yet there are many very honest men of that caste dwelling about Coasewatt, but most of them about Agre.

I had almost forgotte the custom of the Hindoo marriage

By which the bride brings her jewels. It is the Portugall custom

They marrye their children verye young, about the age of three yeres and under. And some times they make promise to one an other that their children shall marrye together before they bee borne, as for example if two men becomen wives becomen fildes they make a bargaine that one bringe forth a sonne and the other a daughter they shall marrye together. They may not marrye but one of their own caste and religion, and they make they rate her likewise of one or quater of their in the sorte of adulterers and marrye a bakers sonne or prayde if they bee bothe of one caste and religion. And when there children are three or four yeres old they make a greute feaste and sett the two children that are to be married upon two hornes with a man before each of them for faine of fullage. Everye age apperrelled them in their best clothes and lannaged aboute with flowers and accompanied with the Musicians or priests and move others nexte neage to the house of the parents of the children and soe take them upp and down the river or byne where they dwell and then to the pagod and thence, after the ceremonye there done they come home and feaste, and in the same feaster continue feasting certayne dayes more or lesse accordinge to the welthe of the parents. And when the children come to be ten yeres old they lye together. The reason whye they marrye their soe young they say is in regard they wold not leave their children wiselss, if yt should please God to take the parents awaye of either of the children, yet say they, they have other parents to reade them if they come to yeres of discretion. Likewise the reason whye the Rinsouches were bound themselves with their husband dead bodies is that yt hath ben an old custome and long since ordeyned by a certayne kinge of theires, because hee had manye of his nobles and souldiers poisoned (as was supposed) by their wives. Hee therefore ordeyned that when anye husband dyed his wife should bee burned with his corpse and if hee had more wives then one, as it maye be hee had should ad burne together. But then they were forced unto yt but nowe they have gotte such a custome of yt that they doe yt moste willingly.

As concourage there priests, which they call *Humans*, they keepe their pagods and have almes or tythes of there

of them 7 rapens a daye and the reste three rapens a daye. They have licence to come as many to Christmas as they can see. They have already converted many. But mass it is for money's sake for the Jesuits give it to 'em a daye. And when the Jesuits (tho' the sale of the Portuguese were destroyed of their paye from the Kinge having no moneye to paye these new Christians withall) they dayle came and offered the Jesuits there beads agayne. To kepe them they had beene geve without their paye and therefore they would see no longer Christians. And soon after that the Kinge seeinge the Portuguese would not deliver the goods which they tooke at Scratt back agayne caused the church to be locked up and they have not continued ever since. So the poor Jesuits are fayne to make a dash of one of their chambers where of they saye Masse twice a daye and praye twice Sundaye kins in the Pyrene long. But the Armenians and Moors may understand and afterwards in Portugale for the Portuguese Italians and Turkes. [These had the partitioning of M. de la Roche's goods, who gave us to a French Protestant himself a Papist, who by denying was put to prison. All the goods soothly all were delivered.]

Having dispatched my business which I saw in charge withall I received a letter from our Agent p'senting notification of four English ships that were arrived at Scratt under the command of General Nicholas Dawson (which paid me ready), and withall w^{ch} I was to provide as much of those as came to twenty thousand muttons, which I did takinge it upon my self to provide as much as I should receive ready by exchange with lower taxes for the same. So as soon as I could make it up in fardells, I tyed candles and besetted the house for Scratt to our Agent, and two dayes after the dispatchinge thereof I received other letters from our Agent, wherein hee advyseth me not to deale in any more Indianes for hee could make me any use money. This newes made me in a pettified case because I had mingled the goods together so that I could not returne every one his owne againe. Yet I presentlye took horse and fetched backe the goods againe seekinge to come to composition with my

creditors and my cartellmen. But it was a labour for great trouble to them here, least for they would haue no reason but their craving and vawlinge for theyre money, which I had not to give them. They put me to soe much trouble and griefe that made mee almost oute of my wits. But at laste the Govr. that seeing how I had ben deceayd in the expectation of money, promised hearinge some good excuse which I made for my moneyes not cominge in tyme forced the marchants to take their goods agayne and soe parte them amongst them accordinge to the quantitie I had bought of each, and made the cartellmen pay backe the moneye receayved savinge onely the earnestes I gave them. So this kynde Govr. nor rid me of a worl of trouble, which had like to have killed mee for I proteste I scarce slepte in 10 or 12 dayes and nights, neither eat anye thinge neare, soe deepe was this griefe rooted in my harte, this beeinge my first employment and in these parts in soe shorte a tyme to have such on. It to take up soe much goods on my bare word and then to break yt and soe consequentive my credit, that I was aslained to goe oute of town, but yt was Govrs pleasure thus to punish mee for my synnes, and soe I take yt. But sure I will hereafter beware howe I truste to letters of advice while I live, havinge escaped this error. Here I continued s^{ke} a long tyme beeing much discomfited, and kepte mee for the space of three monethes. At the length I was sent for to Aguiere, where (God bee thanked) I recovered.

The General (i.e. Downton) departed the 2d of March 1614 (i.e. 1613), leaving William Edwards chief marchant, who took upon him the state and title of an ambassador as I have hereafter set down. The General departinge with his four shippes from Sealee had a greate feight with the Portugals,¹ they cominge agaynst them with ten galleons, two gallees and sixty frigotts, in which feight the General synd three of their greate shippes and slew a greate number of their men, and soe receavinge litle or noe damage in the feight (the Lord bee prayd).

¹ As we have seen before p. 107, this fight took place some time before Downton's departure.

It was determined by Mr Edwards, chief marchant for the English in those parts, and chief ambassador, as we formerly supposed, to send it to Agemere Robert Younger, my friend NW, to see that he saw justice. See the 28th of June 1615, we arrived in Akra, being in the middle of winter. Between Adgemere and Akra at every ten miles (which is an ordinary dayes journey) there is a station or place of lodging both for men and horse, and houses to dress our victuals if we please, paying a little of all that for horse and meat dressing. Between these places which is ascertained to be 20 marches at every course of the road a great priory¹ and at every 10 marches and a march more, and by the Kings father, old Ahabar when hee went in pilgrimage from Akra to Agemere on foot, saying his prayers at every course end where hee caused the foresaid priors to be erected. And where hee have stablished it there hee caused the aforesaid houses to be built, they only serving for the Kings and his women, none else ever to lodge or dwellage in them.

This king which now reigneth is in Adgemere upon some occasion of war which he hath against the Kanna² or Kachatchu, inhabiting in the mountaynes when this Kings father nor this king could ever bringe to subjection. But now, by the Kings livinge neare him and continually for two yeeres space payinge him with a world of soldiers, or at leaste sent him some to do damage, the kinge and we a peace was concluded between the kinge and Kanna.

As concerninge the greatness of this kinge, the Great Monarch his state is soe great in comparison of most Christian kings that the report would bee almoste incredible. therefore I will omit it with admiration, and referre the reports thereof to the world, chief ambassador Edwards. Nor will I speak at large of his greates justice, sittinge three tymes a day that a

¹ For the female attendants in the service see *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, vol. II, p. 121.

² The Kanna of Udaipur, Amerbhagh, see p. 121. He had now been converted, perhaps, as an amir, by Prince Kauram. The revolt of the younger of the Kanna-son, Karam, is described in the *Tuzuk*, vol. I, p. 271.

himselfe. Here hath a bell hanging in his seruice¹ with a cord which reaches into an outer room, where if anye of his subiects be wronged and cannot have justice of his nobles, they may repaire and ringe the bell, he looketh out, causinge them to bee brought before him, and examineth the matter: and to see fynde that the poore man bee wronged in justice, hee the greatest noblemen about him, he presently takes away all his meanes, putinge him either into prison perpetually or cuts his throte. In fyne his greatness is such that I rather admyre at yt than presume to write of yt. But I will retorne to the accidents in my owne occasions.

Havinge dispatched all my owne affaires and nowe at least², I rode to the river of Ganges, the famous river of that countrey, and from Agra is two dayes journey. Here³ I stayed two dayes and observed a verye customes and ceremonies of the caste of Banyans, the river side beinge full of pagods kept by Bramans, the relation wherof would here be tedious to repeat here. The waters of this river Ganges is carried manye hundred myles from thencee by the Banyans and as they admyre, I will never sticke though kepte never so longe, neither will anye wormes or vermine breede therein. Alsoe by Agra runneth a verye large and deepe river called Gomahyns [Jumna].

This Agra is noe citty, but a towne, yet the biggest that ever I saw. The faireste thing in yt is the castle wherein the Kinge (when hee is in Agra) keepeth his court. The wall of this castle is some two courses in compasse and the fayrest and heigheste that ever I sawe, and within well replenished with ordnantes, one of the which, becauge of brasse is far bigger then ever I sawe anye in England. The rest of this towne (except some noblemens houses which are verye fayer and for the moste parte seated by the river-side) is verye ruinous. The ancient seate of the kings of this countrey, where they keppe [kept?] theire courts, was in Fettepore 12 courses from Agra and is a verye stronge citty situate upon a mayne quarrey of rocke, but since the castle of

¹ A place which his women for his pleasure are kept in (many not note). The term is more familiar to English readers in its Levantine form of *seraglio*.

² Possibly *haganj*.

Agua was built this edifice hath gone much to decaye and is now very ruinous. Between Fort-pouee and Agua is the sepulcher of this Kings father which is a wonderfull rich and curious building and to say judgement the fairest that ever I sawe in the whole world or elsewhere and yet the edifice of Fort-pouee is with very beautyfull and is likewise built by geometric.

Being now in Agua here came to mee Mr Rogers (a private) Thomas Miffor, Philip Baker and James Clarke and brought mee newes of the arrivall of four English ships at Soratt under the command of Captaine William Keeling and would to mee they were sent up to apprehend mee by order from Mr Edwards were heard that I had much goods of my owne in the house and he had knowledge howe I came by them and therefore desired mee to bee taken and that they and withall gave order I should be sent six miles to Agua. This was a strange thing to mee and a wonder what this should appoynted fall so suddenly and not a while before. For my owne parte I told them it were a greater folly in mee if I could not give sufficient reasons howe I came by my goods. I told them I had four fardells of indies, two chests of sennones, clothes and such like and they might well bee assured that if I had not come hither by them but by knowlege received the Governor I should not have and so they desired mee as to have sought some by my own means or some like or some have kept the house where with I bought them and have turned it into commodities which would have been easily carried and come from the eye of the world where on the contrary I had bought my goods but such things as could not possibly bee carried but not by knowlege beinge the goods I mentioned before. Such was my playne and open dealing in dealings with know therof. But they would heare of what I sayde to them. whereupon I made it known unto

The day after Keeling's departure when see a note on p. 290 of *Journal of the voyage* and the references. The second dealing with *Coronado*.

Some years were in between goods bought at Samana (Patula State) and this one.

even of whom I had taken up my goods—some I took upon my own credit to be paid at 24 months—others I bought for ready money, whilſt I borrowed upon my own bond to be paid at the same time. I wiled that my creditors might be sure certainly that they meant justly the truth. But they told I was they must follow the stroke order of Mr Edwards, which was to send me down in prison and to take up my goods, both of the Companyes and my own, if to their satisfaction. Soe the next day in the morning Mr Rogers and Philipp Baker took charge of mee, and with my trunks and my horse, waighting 20 pound waight they brought me to Agniere, which was 10 dayes journey. But Mr Rogers verie kyndlye, soe the three coaches before I came to Agniere, took off my trunks to prevent any of open shew before my countrymen, and soe brought mee to Mr Edwards, whoe gave me little thanks for that kyndnesse he showed to mee.

At my cominge to Mr Edwards (our would bee ambassador). His Honor entered into a stricke examination of mee how I came by my goods whilſt I had in Agniere. But I protested hee proceeded soe fastidiously and with such apish questions, accordinge to his countenance in jesture and well-marked stammeringnesse in his carriage, that I did a minute scarce to answer him. But havinge more respects to the place hee was in than to his unworthy person, I told him truely howe and in what manner I came by the goods, and willed charge him with the abuse he had offered, not onely to mee but consequentive to the whole nation consideringe the fashion I had carried over to in Agniere, soe I suggested, puttinge me in charges, his owne fact in Agniere, a voyage abroad that I was richlye bound in acceptance forty thousand rupias (or our frowne) with native other disgracefull speeches of mee, to which Edwards swore he never gave them order to putt iron on mee, with some other excuses. But his myerie was not accordinge to his words to mee, for within 10 dayes after upon slight occasion quarrelling with me, falslye charged mee to bee drunke as glasse of the least occasion, and cutt with his pions (or hired servants) into my chamber, and there on a suddaine bounde mee and putt a liver jayre of bonds on my eggs, swearinge he would

set him down to the General William Keeling to suratt in that fashion. The chiefest cause of his soe base usage of mee was our gaine I went with Mr Rogers our preacher to visit Mochimus one of great noblemen. I beinge Mr Rogers his interpreter for that vice. Mr Rogers onely purposing to take his leave of him. But Mochimus in hearinge that wee would departe for England told Mr Rogers he must needs see the Kinge before he woulde write any word to come to my next marriage. And he woulde presently take leave the Kinge. Mr Rogers also visited the Prince Sultan Cussrow (Muzsurat) who received him verye zealouslye givinge him a letter to the Governor of Suratt for my good entertainment there. whiche letter sheweth is in good stead in Suratt. Nowe Mr Edwards hearinge that Mr Rogers had been entertained by the Prince and alsoe had agreed at Mochimus house not to goe with him. The Kinge has ordered extreme pay and full hospitality to my friends with Mr Rogers the preacher and caused him to bee kepte prisoner by his prisoners captives for my sufferinge. And he is out of charges for for Kinge, which was respectably by the Jesuits language. It is see how base we were scemed our contrivance and the malice of by the Moores and Christians. In this our confidence for it was thought the Kinge beinge soe boundfull to a stranger, woulde have given our preacher some good reward when Mr Edwards hearinge and in regard himselfe was soon to departe from hence. he thought the Kings beauty woulde bee lesse than my beinge contente with all the former gifts which amounteth in my knowledge to the some of 60000 rupees which is 7000 pound sh and out. See the carriage carriage from Agra wee departed from Agra towards Suratt viz Mr Rogers, preacher and others and myselfe, N.W., in charynes.

And now I cannot but somewhat touch the businesse and the carriage of our woorlde beinge ambassador Mr Edwards whoe cominge hither to the East-Indies. took the title and office of an ambassador upon him. and havinge the Kinge of England's letter delivered him by General Hewinton to deliver to the

A more accurate account makes the total 11,000 or 12,000 rupees and charges for food and such like.

Great Mogall did pay for the same addinge and deductinge whay seemed best for his owne purpose and commoditie either to or from yt, and soe presented his translation to the Great Mogall with the present sente from by the marchants, and the King bestowed on her 300000 rupees (or half-crownes) for her service. After this he continued in Agra till, and sometime went to the court where he layge himself not as beseeching an ambassador, especially sente from soe worthy and great a prince as the King of England (the King indeede but a mischancefull fellowe and removed by the Company into these parts) was kicked and spurned by the Kings porters out of the court gates, to the irrecoverable disgrace of our King and nation, hee never speakinge to our King for redresse. But envyinge those great rich honours like a good use, makege himself and our nation a mightie stick to all people in general, to the greate rejoicinge of the Portugals, whose spitefull divilge of the disgrace of the English ambassador received by others flourege out in the country. After this our honourless ambassador William Edwards yettred to the Great Mogall to obtayne licence from him to inflict justice upon all Englishmen (malefactors) in his dominions by execution to death or other boddy punishment according to our English lawes, which the Mogall denied him. And uppont this a quarrell arose between him and the company of English factors, which in Agra was soe that the said Edwards was one Thomas Mitford by force stabbed into the shoulder with a dagger. And after the ships arrivall at Surat were brought over an ambassador thence sent from the King of England, as we then heard yt reported, which was Sir Thomas Roe. Edwards nowe fearinge the disgrace of his grievance would fight upon him, and beinge asked what the ambassador was which was arrived at Surat, made answer that he was a mischancefull fellowe, which is a common word for a fowle horse, paye, and of a very ill nature. The said natives thore I could sell downe, but for freewyls sake. And yf he should dringe me I wold let the Devill heare written. I with

Thos. Roe was sent to the Great Mogall by the English.

Thos. Roe was sent to the Great Mogall by the English, and was generally of more honour than it was known to the East.

be a good proofe to this daye yet to be shew before our
worthy mynisters but also before the Kings Majesty and
Council. I trust his determination of cozenage the Com-
panye with his factor Young in Aggra but when occasion
shall be offered I will likewise bringe sufficient proofe of that,
but till then this shall suffice. But I hope the Companye will
take warninge howe they employe such mischabrick fellows
about such ournesse and I likewise hope that Sir Thomas
Howe our ambassador by his worthy carriage will receive
the great dishonour that Edwards hath caused to our Kinge
and nation by his carriage, and redreffe the same by some
relations.

But now to returne to my owne wronge, beinge nowe
disperced in charytes from Agnere towards Suratt, which
I passed thro with excessive payne (my age never been
used to such hard garteringe) it beinge a thousand and five
miles from Aggra (where I was last charyned) to Suratt, where,
I take our General they were taken. If the people of the
countrie that knowe mee (and indeede for the best sorte of
them respected mee) myne of them forowd mee downe the
countrie wonderinge what I had done that they should use
mee in that manner and if they had knowne the cause to be
me otherwise then it was they would not have suffered mee
to have been so used, for some of them offered mee that if
I would at any tyme when they offered me wrange, but would
uppryng at or sende the leaste boye to them they would
dever mee from them and yet may be have cutte the throats
of them all. But knowinge my selfe to be soe free from
deceyvinge the Companye and also to requyte the goods
which Edwards had taken from mee I came with laden host
wher to give myne to purge my selfe of theire accusations.
But as tyme I was brought aboard the shippe to our General
[the Kinge] who promised that when Edwards came downe
I should have free speeche to cleare my selfe which as yet I
could never have. So my verdict was annulled and I feared
not to see the Companye any thinge and soe was dis-
persed for Jangone. And at my arrival at Lynd Bay in

It maye be seen in the entry of 1616 the first passenger
boarding Edward and he being a man from *London* he said to me

London: I was entertained by some of the Companye with whom I went presently to Sir Thomas Smyth, of whom I hoped to have redresse of all my wrongs, with restitution of my goods and wages due unto me for the tyme of my service, of whom instead of kinde usage and thanks for all the paynes taken for him, and the Companye I received most ungratefull disgrace and vaine usage, which I founde to growe through the false suggestions of Mr. Edwards, who beinge set on shore at Dover, was at home longe before mee.

The fourth of October 1616, which was four days before my arrival, the Companye by false and frivolous suggestions had prepared a writt of *Seccat regnum* against mee, whereupon after some conference with Sir Thomas Smyth I was in my own house arrested and carried to the Compter of London, where I remained 30 dayes, the Companye not allowinge me payme to receive mee, nor so much as clothes to my backe, but to maintain six and thirtie thousand pounds hable of mee, which (God knowes) I was far more hable to paye. I treated a poor brother of mine (who came 100 miles to mee, to goe to Sir Thomas) and the Companye to knowe their reasons for my hard usage, but they would give none. I wrote a letter to Sir Thomas, desiringe I might knowe my fault, and that I might answer to cause thinge which could bee objected against mee. I likewise sent him my particular descriptions howe I came by my goods, that when and howe more pettitions and letters which I sent to them (the companye whereof I have hereafter caused to bee sett downe,² I could never yet receive any answer, onlye this, that I had done the Companye much hurte, not allowinge anye particular wherby

p. 128. The entry in Purchas states that on the return voyage they reached Table Bay on May 11. They found there a small boat and fleet under Beyersa's command, and that they arrived at Dover on September 16.

Two Quay was in Lower Thames Street, about halfway between Basinggate and London Bridge.

² Copies of the original documents were at that time in Sir John's house, situated in the (Flemish) Street end of Roper's Lane.

³ Copies of three letters to Sir Thomas Smyth and of a petition to the Companye are printed in the eighteenth-century version. They contain nothing of importance.

At the end of 30 dayes of my imprisonment, it pleased theire Workshipps, through much intercessions of my selfe and my poore brother (which is all the friends I have in the world and on whose charge I stid remaine) to take his bonde and another of my friends in a thousand poundes that I should not goe nor sende out of the kingdom without licence, according to the tenor of the writte. wheruppon (payinge my charges) I was sett at liberty although I was in very poore and weake estate, scarce able to go without helpe. But yt pleased God to sende me friends: one whom I took into his house where ever since I have remained, not knowinge howe to make him satisfaction for the trouble with mee in the tyme of my sickness; the other was Doctor Eguseth,¹ who takinge pitye on mee, in charitye hath cured mee of my great maladye and sicknesses, which grew on mee partlye through griefe which I tooke at theire ungratefull oppression and wronge, and partlye through my loathsome imprisonment. But I hope God who hath preserved mee in the greater, will likewise deliver mee from the lesse; and I hope that our greates Kinge of whom the world rings fame, grace, and justice, will not suffer the dove to be oppressed with the greatness of the eagle.

¹ One of the Maesty's doctors of physick (*Emergent man*). This was Dr. George Eggham, the Scottish physician and poet.

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I have been thinking of you very much lately
 and wondering how you are getting on.
 I hope you are well and happy.
 I have been very busy lately
 but I will write to you again soon.
 I love you very much.
 Your affectionate mother,
 Mrs. J. H. Smith.

[illegible][illegible]

For the purpose of this study, the following hypotheses were formulated:

Mr Coryat was the first Englishman who offered to travel
 in a private way, and to see all the curiosities of
 the world. He was born in the town of Macclesfield, in
 Cheshire, and was the son of a Merchant. He was
 educated at the University of Oxford, and was
 afterwards employed in the service of the East India
 Company. He was a very curious and diligent
 observer of the customs and manners of the
 people he visited. He was a very good writer, and
 his travels were published in a book, which was
 very popular. He was a very good friend of
 the Duke of Buckingham, and was employed by
 him in several important missions. He was a
 very good friend of the Duke of Buckingham, and
 was employed by him in several important missions.
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At the end of the year 1616, when he wrote the rest of his

extant letters. Coryat was still at the capital, but was intending in one or six weeks time to make an excursion to Harwar in the Ganges, and then to set out for Lahore on his new westward journey. We now lose sight of him for several months, but we know from Perry that he came out his ricksha in visiting Harwar, and that his tour included a famous triumph of Jwala Mūkh in kāñgrā. Evidently, however, he still lingered for some time at Agra after his return. Possibly his health had already been affected by the climate, and since he was enjoying, as at Agra, the hospitality of the Company's factor, he was in no hurry to face the hardships of the long overland journey to Europe. In this uncertainty arrives a letter from Roe, written from the imperial headquarters at Mandu to one of the Agra factors on July 20, 1617, in which he expressed a desire to learn Coryat's purpose for England or stay, or if he took any new course, whether he wished to go with him. (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 911, f. 405.) At this time the ambassador was but expecting to receive by the next post his instructions to proceed to Persia (the new course to which he referred), and otherwise he hoped to sail for England early in 1618. His invitation offered Coryat the chance of either going with Roe to Persia in comfort by sea, and then resuming the land journey, or of taking a passage home in accordance with the ambassador. Accordingly he rode just as was a while at Mandu, and spent several weeks in Roe's company, none were. During this time Coryat shared the quarters of Captain Terry, who tells us a good deal about his strange companion and his doings.

Evidently the rest at Mandu was very necessary, for hard living and much travelling had told severely upon Coryat's health. One day he fainted in the ambassador's presence and was with difficulty brought to his senses. Moreover he was troubled with a persistent, born habit of claustrophobic conviction that he would never live to reach England and give his expectations any more the promised account of the wonders he had seen. Soon his plans were deranged by a new turn of events. The letters from England advised Roe to go to Persia, while the slow progress of his negotiations rendered it doubtful whether he would be able to return home for yet another year. All that was clear was that the ambassador must follow the Emperor wherever he went, whether (as was expected) to Alandulāh or (as some of the courtiers hoped) to Agra. When Jahangir left Mandu on October 24, 1617, his real intentions were still uncertain, and perhaps in the hope that his destination would prove after all to be the capital, whence Coryat could set off afresh on the overland journey to Europe. Our traveller started with Roe on October 29 to overtake the Emperor. Before, however, the party had got

the left hand of the road lies Tom Coriat, our English Inquierer that were truly, together with an Armenian Christian known by their graves lying east and west' (*New Account* 100). It may be added that some years ago Nor (now Sir W. H. R.) Morrison, who was then collector at Surat, made an unsuccessful search for traces of Coriat's grave, and drew the conclusion that it had either been swept away or suited over by the periodical floods of the Tapti.

In conclusion a few words may be said regarding the literature of Coriat's Eastern travels. As we have learnt from Roe, the pilgrim left one basket of notes at Aleppo and another at Ispahan, where presumably he had a third with him at the time of his death. The first instalment found its way to England and came into the hands of Purchas, who, as already noted, printed considerable extracts in the second volume of his *Pilgrimage*. Of the fate of the other two portions nothing is known. Their loss is much to be deplored, for Coriat had a true gift of observation and narrated fully and accurately what he saw, including many small details which other travellers have passed over as unworthy of notice. Had he lived to publish an full account of his Indian journey as he had previously given of his travels in Europe, it would probably have ranked as high as the works of Frezier or Tavernier, but unfortunately, and that we have from his own pen in the five letters here printed. Apart from these there are some rather good to Purchas by Roe (see p. 276), and a few details and anecdotes preserved by Terry (p. 282). Finally we may trace in Roe's journal and correspondence, as also in the map of India which he assisted Bullin to compile, all sorts of information supposed to him by Coriat concerning parts of India which Roe himself had not visited. We lose thus mere scraps of what might have been a feast. One consolation is that even these scraps are better than nothing and, slight as they are, they contain much to make us remember with gratitude the eccentric wanderer who sleeps in an unknown grave on the banks of the Tapti.

Turning to the letters themselves we may note that the first four were printed almost immediately after the arrival in England in a pamphlet entitled *Thomas Coriate Traveller for the English West*, (freeing illustrated with some rough woodcuts. Apparently this production excited considerable interest, for a reprint was issued with the same date.¹ The fifth letter was published in similar form two years later under the title of *Mr. Thomas Coriat to his Friends in England sendeth Greeting*, adorned by a picture of the author riding on a camel.

¹ 1617. Of course this would extend to March '14, 1617, according to modern reckoning.

In 1625 Purchas, in his *Pilgrimes* (part I book ix, chap. 17), reprinted large portions of the first, third and fifth, and the fifth was again reproduced five years later in a volume containing the works of John Taylor the Water Poet. The 1736 edition of Coryat's works gives the first four letters in full, while as regards the fifth it is content to follow the abbreviated version supplied by Purchas. Since then there has been no fresh edition of the letters from India, though Purchas's extracts from them were of course included in the recent reissue of the *Pilgrimes*. The text now given is from the British Museum copies of the 1616 and 1618 pamphlets, omitting the common luteary and other verses.



*Most deare and beloved Friend, M^{rs} L. W.^{ts} animæ
dimidium meæ.*

Constat salutations in the Author of Salvation, Jesus Christ. Where I writ unto you last I remember well, even from Zobah as the Prophet Samucl calleth it (2 Books 8 chap. ver 3). but is, Aleppo, the principall emporium of all Syria, or rather of the orient world. but when in truth I have forgotten, for I keepe not copies of my letters as I see most of my countrey-men doe, in what-soever place of the world I find them. Howbeit if my conjecture doe not much faile me, I may assure that it was about xv moneths since about a month after I returned unto Aleppo from Jerusalem; after which time I remained there three months longer and then departed thence in a caravan into Persia, passing the noble river Euphrates (the cheefest of all that irrigated Parthia, whence, as from their original, the three other rivers were derived) about foure dayes journey beyond Aleppo, on the farther side of which I entered Mesopotamia, alias Chaldaea, for the Euphrates in that place determineth Syria and Mesopotamia. Thence I had two dayes journey to Ur [Orfan] of the Chaldeans, where Abraham was born, a very

Laurence Whitaker, who (as shown by the next letter) was secretary to Sir Edward Phelips. He contributed some laudatory poems to the *Creditice* as well as a prose eulogy.

The identification of Zobah accepted by modern commentators, who place Zobah farther south.

delicate and pleasant little. There I remained four days, but I could see no part of the ruins of the house where that faithful servant of God was born, though I much desired it. From thence I had four days journey to the river Tigris, which I passed also; but in the same place where I crossed it I found it so shallow that it reached no higher than the calf of my leg; for I waded over it afoot. Now I well perceive, by mine ocular experience, that Chaldaea is named Mesopotamia for that it is inclosed with the foresaid rivers. *Trajeto Tigride*, I entred Armenia the Greater, after that, Mean the Lower, and resided six days in the metropolis thereof heretofore called Ecbatana, the summer seate of Cyrus his court, a city oftsoone mentioned in the Scripture, now called Touris [Tabriz]. More wofull ruines of a city (saying that of Troy and Cyzicum¹ in Natolia) never did mine eyes beholde. When I seriously contemplated those *ruines* [i. e. ruins], the dolefull testimonies of the Turkish devastations, I called to minde Ovids verse:

*Ludit in humanis divina potentia tebas*²

And that of Hesiod,

*το δ' ἐντοπιον περὶ τὴν θύραν Ζεὺς ἐψηθίμενται.*³

From thence I had two daies journey to a city that in Strabos time was called Arbacia in Media the Higher, now Cashan, once the rovall seate of the Tartarian princes, 4 daies journey from the Caspian sea. From Cashan I had 23 daies to Spahan, in Partum the place of residence of the Persian King], but at my being there he was in the countrey of Gargistan, ravaging the poor Christians ther with great hostility with fire and sword⁴. There I remained 2 months, and so with a caravan travelled into the Eastern India, passing 3 months and six daies in my travell betwixt that (through part of the true

New Kyssik, on the southern shore of the sea of Marmora,

¹ *Epist. ex Pont.*, lib. iv, epist. 12, l. 40.

² This is really from Aristophanes (*Equitatus*, 772), but as Dr Thomas points out, Coryat was probably thinking of line 8 of Hesiod's *Works and Days*.

³ The campaign of Shāh 'Abbās. Georgia is mentioned by Rieu *Persia*, pp. 13-14, so he doubtless had his information from Coryat.

Persia, and a large tract of the noble and renowned India) and the goodly city of Lahore in India, one of the largest cities of the whole universe for it containeth at the least xvi miles in compass and exceedeth Constantinople far in greatness. But a dozen daies before I came to Lahore I passed the famous river Indus, which is as broad againe as our Thames at London and hath his original out of the mountaine Caucasus¹ so much ennobled by the ancient, both poets and historiographers. Greeke and Latine, which Plato for curiosity sake, in his traueses of these parts, went to see. It lyeth not farre from that upon the confines of Scythia, now called Tartaria. I yett see a so encouraging some hope of seeing it before my final farewell of India.

I had almost forgotten one memorable matter to report unto you. About the middle of the way betwixt Spahan and Lahore, just about the frontiers of Persia and India, I met Sir Robert Sherley and his adu. trauesing from the court of the Mogal where they had bene verie graciously received, and enriched with presents of great value) to the King of Persia's court, so gallantly furnished with all necessaries for their traueses that it was a great comfort unto me to see them in such a flourishing estate. There did he shew mee to my singular contentment both my bookes neatly kept, and hath promised me to shew them especially mine it became to the Persian King and to interpret unto him some of the principall matters in the Turkish tongue to the end I may have the more gracious accessse unto him after my returne thither, for through Persia I have determined (by Gods helpe) to returne to Aleppo. Besides other rarities that they carried with them out of India, they had two elephants and eight antlups, which were the first that ever I saw, but afterwards, when I came to the Mogals court I sawe great store of them. These they meant to present to the Persian King. Both he and his lady used me with singular respect especially his lady, who bestowed forty shillings upon me in Persian money and they seemed to exult for joy to see mee having promised me to bring mee in good grace with the Persian King and that

¹ The range of the Hindu Kush was known to ancient geographers as the Indian Caucasus.

they will induce him to bestow some princely benefit upon me. This I hope will be partly occasioned by my bookes for he is such a goodly prince that he will not be meanly delighted with covers of my facetious hieroglyphicks, if they are suchly and genially expounded unto him.

For at the furthest citie of Lahore I had twenty daies journey to another goodly citie, called Agra, through such a delicate and even tract of ground as I never saw before and doubt whether the like bee to be found within the whole circumference of the habitable world. Another thing also in this way being no lesse memorable then the plainnesse of the ground; a row of trees on each side of this way wære people doe travell, extending it selfe from the townes end of Lahore to the townes end of Agra. the most incomparable shew of that kinde that ever my eyes surveyed. Likewise whereas ther is a mountaine some ten daies journey betwixt Lahore and Agra, but verie nere ten miles out of the way on the left hand, the people that inhabite that mountaine observe a custome very strange, that all the brothers of any familie have but one and the selfsame wife, so that one woman sometimes doth serve for 7 men¹: the like whereof I remember I have read in Strabo, concerning the Arabians that inhabited Arabia Felix. Agra is a verie great citie, and the place where the Mogul did alwaies (saying within these two yeares) keepe his court, but in every respect much inferior to Lahore. From thence to the Moguls court I had ten daies journey, at a towne called Ameer, where I found a capo merchant of our English men with nine more of my countrymen resident there upon termes of negotiations for the Right Worshipfull Company of Merchants in London that Trade for East India. I spent in my journey betwixt Jerusalem and this Moguls court 15 moneths and odd daies, all which way I traversed afoot but with divers pairs of shooes, having bene such a propateticke (I will not call my selfe peripateticke because you know it significth one that maketh a peripatulus on about a place, *peripateticus* signifying to walk about) that on a walker forward on foote, as I doubt whether

¹ Polygamy is still common in parts of the Dehra Dûn and other Hindustani regions. For a discussion of the passage in Strabo, see Robertson Smith's *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 183.

yet ever heard of the like in your life, for the tocal way betwixt Jerusalem and the Moguls court containeth two thousand and seven hundred English miles. My whole journey from of this Asia the Greater is like to bee a passage of almost sixe thousand miles, by that time that in my returne backe thorough Persia, afterward also by Babylon and Nisive, I shall come to Cairo in Egypt, and from that downe the Niles to Alexan^{dr}, there to reside (Gods helpe) I harqued for Chrysostome, a verie immense extension of ground.

Now I am at the Moguls court. I think you would be glad to receive some narration there. I find mee though somewhat ha^{ve}en for I mean to be very corpulent as lest I should otherwise preoccupate that pleasure which you may have after this rape by my personall relation thereof. This present prince is a verie worthy person by name Seim, of which name I never read or heard of any more then our Metouran king, which was Sulan Seim of Constantinople that lived about 80 years since the sate that occupied Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, Cairo, etc., adding the same to the Turkish Empire. He is 53 years of age, his outward face having beene celebrated with wonderful polipe since my arrival here, for that date he weighed I esse in a pair of golden scales, which by great chance I saw the same day a rustie that I observed to most inviolable every year, by weighing gold in the other scale as counterweight. He weighed I say his body, and the same he afterward distribute to the poore. He is of complexion neither white nor blacke, but of a middle betwixt them. I know not how to expresse it with a more expressive and significant epitheton than olive, an olive colour his face presenteth. He is of a seemely composition of bodie, of a stature little unequal (as I guess, not without grounds of probability, to mine) but much more corpulent then my selfe. The extent of his dominion is verie spacious, being in extent the same that 4000 English miles, which verie neere answereth the compass of the Turkish territories, or I may say be wathing in geometricall dimensions of ground. It is with a great promise supplied by the fertility of his soyle. And in these two things hee exceedeth the Turks, in Jahangeer was ready only forty six, having been born in 1592.

the fatnesse (as I have said, of his land, no part of the world yielding a more fruitfull veine of ground then all that which lieth in his empire, saving that part of Babilonia where the terrestriall paradise once stood; whereas a great part of the Turke land is extreme barren and sterill, as I have observed in my peregrination thereof especially in Syria, Mesopotamia and Armenia, many large portions thereof being so wonderfull fruitlesse that it beareth no good thing at all, or if any thing, *thero infelix lottum et steriles dominatur avenæ*.¹ Secondly, in the conjunction and union of all his territories together in one and the same goodly content of India, no prince having a foote of land within him. But many parcels of the Turkes countries are by a large distance of seas and otherwise divided asunder. Again, in his revenue he exceedeth the Turk and the Persian his neighbour by just halfe, for his revenues are 10 millions of crownes (of sixe shillings value) by the yeare,² but the Turkes are no more then fifteene millions (as I was certainly informed in Constantinople, and the Persians five millions, *plus minus* (as I heard in Spahan). It is said that he is unconquered wherein he differeth from all the Mahometan princes that ever were in the world.

Hee speaketh very reverently of our Saviour, calling him in the Indian tongue *Isazaret Esau* (*Isazaret Isa*, that is, the Great Prophet Jesus, and all Christians especially us English, he useth so benevolently as no Mahometan prince the like. Hee keepeth abundance of wilde beasts, and that of diverse sorts, as Lyons, elephants, leopards, beares, antilops, unicornes, whereof two I have seen at his court the strangest beasts of the world.³ They were brought thither out of the countie of Bengala, which is a kingdom of most singular fertilitye within the compass of his dominion, about four months journey

¹ This is from Virgil's *Georgics* lib. i. l. 531.

² Presumably the informant gave the amount in millions of riyas, which Caryl converted at the rate of 2s. 6d. to a perche, the value he added in another place assigning a value of 100 to the riyas and supposing the figure to rate the land erroneously. It is probably too low an estimate cf. Lawkins, *supra*, p. 49, and Thomas's *Eastern Account*, p. 26).

³ In the original pamphlet a fanciful portrait of a unicorn is here inserted. The beasts mentioned by Caryl were of course rhinoceroses.

from this, the midland parts thereof being watered by divers channels of the famous Ganges, which I have not as yet seen, but (well willing) I meane to visite it before my departure out of this countrey, the nearest part of it being not above two yeares journey from this court. The King presenteth himselfe thrice every daie without faile to his nobles at the rising of the sunne, which he adoth by the elevation of his hands, at noone, and at five of the clocke in the evening. But he standeth in a roome aloft alone by himselfe and looketh upon them from a window that hath an embroidered samptous coverture, supported with two silver pillars to yeeld shadowe unto him. Twice every week elephants fight before him, the bravest spectacle in the world. Many of them are thirteene foot and a halfe high, and they seeme to juggle together like two little mountaines, and were they not parted in the midst of their fighting by certaine fire workes, they would exceedingly gape and cruentate one another by their murdering teeth. Of elephants the King keepeth 30.000 in his whole kingdome at an unmeasurable charge, in feeding of whom, and in Lyons and other beasts, he spendeth an incredible masse of money at the least ten thousand pounds sterling a day.¹ I have rid upon an elephant since I came to this court determining one day (by Gods leave) to have my picture expressed in my next booke sitting upon an elephant.² The King keepeth a thousand women for his own use, whereof the chieftest (which is our Queene) is called Norral.

I thinke I shal here after this send another letter unto you before my departure out of this countrey by a worthy man which is the Master and preacher of our nation in this place one M. Peter Rogers, a man to whom I am exceedingly obliged for his singular offices of humanity exhibited unto me. Pray use him kindly for my sake. Hee understanding that there is a certaine young gentleman called Master Charles Lancaster, that serveth the [Master] of the Rolles intreated me to desire

¹ This was to be an exaggeration of some kind.

² Though Coryat did not live to see another book, the publishers of the 1618 pamphlet remembered to wash and print on the page a full sketch of him riding upon an elephant. This illustration appears three times.

you to recommend him very kindly unto him. Our capemercerhants name is M. William Edwards, an honest gentleman, that useth me with verie loving respect.

Dear M. L. W., convey these twoe letters that I have sent to you, to the parties to whom they are directed: my poore brother and mine uncle Williams. You may do me a kinde office to desire him (with such convenient termes and pathetical perswasions as your discretion shall dictate and suggest unto you) to remember me as his poore industrious peregrinating kinseman, nearest unto him in blood of all the people in the world; to remember me I say, with some competent gratitude, if God should call him out of the world before my returne unto my native countrey. I pray you if hee be living, and doth use to come to London as he was wont to doe, that you would deliver my letter to him with your owne hands, and not send it unto him.

You may remember to relate this unto your friends that I was now ment on as a matter verie memorable. I spent in my ten moneths travels betwixt Aleppo and the Mogals court but three pounds sterling, yet fared reasonable well everie day, victuals being so cheape in some countries where I travelled, that I oftentimes lived comfortably for a pennie sterling a day. Yet of that three pound I was cosened of no lesse then ten shillings sterling by certaine lewd Christians of the Armenian nation; so that indeed I spent but fiftie shillings in my ten moneths travales. I have bene in a citie in this countrey, called Detee [Delhi], where Alexander the Great joynd battell with Porus, King of India, and conquered him; and in token of his victorie erected a brasse pillar, which remaineth there to this day.¹

Pray remember my humblest service to the Right

¹ Tavernier, in his 1695 ed. (vol. p. 91), says: "I was told by Tom Corvat (who took special notice of this place) that he, being in the city of Dees, observed a very great pillar of marble with a Greek inscription upon it, which Time hath almost quite worn out, and that he supposed there and then by some Alexander, to preserve the memory of that famous victory against King Porus. But also met in this monument (Enchiridion, 1693), and in our Travels in short. The reference seems to be to the Aeska pillar described by Finch (vol. p. 156). It is of bronze and of brass as stated in the text.

CORYAT ON AN ELEPHANT



Honourable, your Master of the Roles, *et superatque et
venatur aura adheret, nec adhuc crudelibus occubat umbris*.¹
And to Sir Robert Phillips, once my Mezenas, but how
affected to me at this time I know not. Pray tell them that
I meane to write to each of them before my departure out of
India. Remember my duty also to their right vertuous ladies.
About foure yeares hence looke for me, but not before. For if
God grant me life and health I meane to make it a voyage
of full seaven yeares before I come home, whereof there are
already spent. Commend me also, I pray you, to M. Martin.²
Though at a mans house in Woodstreet he used mee one night
very perversely before I came away, but you see that my
being at Jerusalem dooth make me forget many injuries.
Commend me likewise to Master H. Holland³ and Hugo Jones.⁴
At this time I have many crosses in the fire, for I learne the
Persian, Turkish, and Arabian tongues, having already gotten
the Italian (I thank God). I have bene at the Moors court
three months already, and am to tarry there (by Gods holy
permission) five months longer, till I have gotten the foresaid
three tongues, and then depart henceence to the Langes, and
after that directly to the Persian court.

Your assured loving friend till death.

THO. CORYATE.

From the court of the Great Mogul, resident at the
towne of Asmere, in the Eastern India, on Michaelmas
day, anno 1615.

I do enjoy at this time as pancreaticall and millett call a health
as ever I did in my life, and so have done ever since I came out.

¹ This is a combination of two passages from the *Arctus*: *Superatque et
venatur aura* (bk. i l. 339) and *Se venatur aura adheret, neque
adhuc crudelibus occubat umbris* (bk. i l. 340).

² Richard Martin, recorder of London, still remembered as a wit and
poet.

³ Hugo Holland, poet and traveller. He wrote a sonnet prefixed to the
first folio of Shakespeare.

⁴ The names of architects. Both he and Holland wrote a century
poems for the *Ornithes*.

of England, saving for three dayes in Constantinople, where I had an ague, which with a little letting blood was clean banished, the Lord be humbly thanked for His gracious blessing of health that Hee hath given me. I was robbed of my money both gude and silver (but not all, by reason of certaine clandestine corners where it was purced) in a cattie eared Diarbeck in Mesopotamias the Turkes countrey by a Spaniè [Spahi], as they call him, that is, one of the horsemen of the Great Turke, but the occasion and circumstance of that misfortune would be too tedious to relate. Notwithstanding that losse, I am not destitute of money, It make God. Since my arrivall heere, there was sente unto this King one of the richest presents that I have heard to be sent to any prince in al my life time. It consisteth of divers parcels, one being elephants, whereof there were 31. and of those two so gloriously adorned as I never sawe the like, nor sha see the like again while I live. For they wore foure chaines about their bodies all of beaten gold, two chains about their legges of the same, furniture for their buttocks of pure gold, two Lyons upon their heads of the like gold, the ornaments of each amounting to the value of almost eight thousand pound sterling, and the whole present was worth ten of their rakes (i.e. lakhs, as they call them (a lak being ten thousand pound sterling), the whole a hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Pray commend me to Master Protoplast and all the Sircanali^s gentlemen. I whom I wrote one letter from Aleppo, after my being at Jerusalem, and another I intend to write before my going out of Asia. Their most earnest and incomparable safe conduct that they have graciously bestowed upon me I have left at Aleppo, not having made any use of it as yet, neither shall I in all my peregrination of Asia, but when I shall one day arrive in Christnagome it will be very available to me.

This embassy was from the King of Bijapur, and reached Ajmer about the middle of August 1614: see the *Turk*, vol. i, p. 208.

The members of the Mermaid Club called themselves Sirennas, of p. 250. a term due to the confusion of the mermaid with the Siren. Possibly there was also a playful allusion to the tyrannic philosophers, whose great pressure was the misfortune of life. Who was meant by Master Protoplast has not been ascertained.

I have here sent unto you the copy of certaine facetious verses that were lately sent to me to this court from one of my countrymen one M. John Browne a Londoner borne, now resident, with divers other English merchants, at a citie in India five hundred miles from the place where I abide, called Amboyna, about six dayes journey from the sea, who understanding of my arrivall at this court, and of my tedious peregrination and the way from Jerusalem hither (understanding it I say by Latine and Italian epistles that upon a certaine occasion I wrote to some of that company) made these pretty verses, and sent them me. You may reade them to your friends, if you thinke fit, and especially to the Summrell gentlemen for they are elegant and delectable. The superscription of his letter was this To the painefull gentleman M. Thomas Corvate. The title within prefixed before the verses, thus To the Odcombeian wonder, our laborious countryman, the generous Coryate. *

Yet in post-script more by way of a corollary, and so with the same, being the fourth and the last I will adde the final amblicke to this tedious English-Indian epistle. I have written out two severall copies of these verses, and included them within the letters which I have intreated you to distribute for me: but so that the letters are not sealed upon them, only they be loose within the letters, therefore they are subject to losing except you have an extraordinary care of them. Wherefore I intreate you to deliver that to mine uncle with your owne hands, if he be in London, or to convey it to him by such a one as will not lose that loose paper of verses. The like care I desire you to have of that to my mother, and to send it int her by some other man when a carrier if you can get (p. 162) with such an opportunity: for in truth I am afraide the carrier will lose the inclosed paper. Pray take advice of some of the Masars or the Roles his people that are to ride to Hull. † Pray remember my commendations with all respect to M. Williams the goldsmith and his wife; and to Benjamin

* William Coryate died. He was one of the Amboyna factory from early 1614 to 1617. *Amboyna*, 29.

† His verses say his countryman is not worth quibbling.

* York is the nearest town to Odcombe.

Johnson and to reade this letter to them both; likewise to Mistress Elizabeth Bacon, if shee continueth with your lady.

One appendix more, and so an end. There happened betwixt the day of the writing of this letter and the day of the sealing of it up, a memorable occurrent not to be omitted. Wee received newes at this court the ninth day after the writing of this letter (for nine daies it was unseasonable) being the eight of October, of the arrivall of foure goodly English ships at the Haven of Surat in India, and in the same of a very generous and worthy English knight, a deare friend of mine S. Thomas Rowe to come to the court with some mature expedition as an ambassador from the Right Worshipfull Company of London Merchants that Trade for India. He cometh with letters from our King and certaine selected presents of good worth from the Company, amongst the rest a gallant carrell of 150 pounds price.^a Also there came with him 15 servants, all Englishmen. Forty daies hence at the furthest, we expect (tho so distant) his arrivall at this court. This newes doth refresheth (I will use my owne phraseth so well knowne to you) my spirits, for I hope he will use me graciously, for God and assistance sake.

II

*To The Right Honourable Sir Edward Phillips, Knight, and
Master of the Rolles, at his house in Chancery-Lane, or
Wanstead.^b*

Right Honourable,

I am perswaded that if ever any accident worthy of admiration ever happened unto Your Honor in all your life time, it will be the receiving of this present letter from me out of the

^a Particulars of this case are given in *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, p. 379.

^b 'God granting it.'

^c Sir Edward Phillips Speaker of the House of Commons (1604) and Master of the Rolles (1617) was the fourth son of Thomas Phillips, Coryat's grandfather. The family seat was at Menease near Warrington. In 1617 Sir Edward rented Wanstead House afterwards the residence of Sir John Chichester and later Edward King James, at a rental of £500 a year of £700. He was alive at the time when Coryat was writing this letter.

Easterne India yet perhaps it will seeme unto you so wondrous that I beleeve you will doubt whether it bee the true English writing of your neere Indian neighbour Thomas Corvate. But Your Honour may soon very faithfully and apparently perceive it to be true partly by the forme of the style which is just answerable to the manner of speech that you have heard and observed in me sometimes in my hearse-woolzie orations and sometimes in my extravagant discourses, and partly by the testimony of the better Leeres of Master Peter Rogers minister at the time of his being in India, to the English merchants resident at the court of the most puissant monarch the Great Mogul at a towne called Asniere whose comfortable and sweet company I enjoyed at the same court about the space of foure moneths.

Now though there hath reined a very burning desire in mee within these few yeares, to survey and contemplate some of the chiefest parts of this generally fabrick of the world besides mine owne native country yet never did I thinke it would have broken out to such an ambitious yeal as to travell all on foot from Jerusalem so farre as the place where I wrote this letter. Howbeit since fortune, or rather to speake more properly, in using a Christian word the providence of the Almighty for *Futura est* St. Augustine saith *qui fata credit* hath so ordained that I should so early passe so far into an orientall world with all humble thanks upon the bended knees of my Lord I thank my Creator and mercifull Redeemer Jesus Christ (whose sacred sepulcher I have visited and kissed, *terque quaterque* in Jerusalem) and do very much congratulate mine owne happiness that He hath bestowed and red me with health (for in all my travells since I came out of England I have enjoyed as sound a constitution of body and firme health as ever I had since I first drew this vitall ayre) libertie strength of limbs, agility of foot and hand &c.

Neither do I doubt but that Your Honour it selfe will likewise congratulate the felicity of our Somersetshire that in blessing me hath produced such a traveller as dooth for the diversitie of the countries he hath seene and the multiplicitie of his observations farre (I beleeve) outstridge any other whatsoever that hath bene bred therein since the blessed

Incarnation of our Saviour Yea, I hope my gentle Countrey of England shall one day say that Odde-combe, for one part of the word may truely be so called (for Odde-combe consisteth of two words, odde and combe which latter word in the olde Saxon tongue signifieth, besides the vertical point of a cocke head the side of a hill because the east side of the hill whereon Od-combe standeth is very conspicuous, and seene afar off in the country eastward) for breeding an odde man one that hath not his peere in the whole kingdome to match him.

Three yeares and some few odde daies I have spent already in this second peregrination, and I hope with as much profite (as partially will I speake it of my selfe, without any overweening opinion, to which most men are subject), both for learning foure languages more then I had when I left my country (viz. Italian Arabian Turkish and Persian) and exact viewing of divers of the most remarkable matters of the universe, together with the accurate description thereof as most of my countrymen that are now abroad Yet such is my insatiable greedinesse of seeing strange countries (which exercise is indeede the very queene of all the pleasures in the world) that I have determined (if God shall say Amen) to spend fild seaven yeares more, to the ende to make my voyage answerable for the time to the travels of Ulysses; and then with unspeakable joy to revisite my country, which I will ever entitle (notwithstanding all the goodly regions that I have seene in my two perambulations) with the stile of the true Canaan of the world, that flowes with milke and honey. Onely wish me good successe, I beseech Your Honour, as I will from my heart to you and all your familie, hoping to salute you after the finall catastrophe of my exoticke wanderings, when you shall bee in the great characterical year of your age you being about fiftie three if my conjecture doth not faile mee, when I take my leave of you a thing verie likely, by the mercifull goodnesse of God, for your father, that was my god-father, who imposed upon me the name of Thomas, lived more then eightie yeares.

Honourable Sir take it not (I beseech you) for a discourtesie, in that I write nothing in this letter of my past travels. I

am certaine that a letter which I have written to M[aster] Whitaker, your learned and elegant secretary, wherein I have compendiously discou[er]sed of some of my observations in Asia, will quickly come to your hands, at least if he remaineth still in your service, therefore it would be superfluous to have repeated the same things. Dutie joyned with the recordation of the manifold benefits and singular favours I have received from you, hath enjoyned mee to send this letter to Your Honour, from this glorious court of the Mogul, wherein, seeing I relate not the singularities I have seen in those orientall regions I will desist to be farther tedious; humbly recommending Your Honour, and vertuous lady your well-beloved sonne and heire-apparant, Sir Robert + (to whom I have written a few times [lines ?] also) and his sweet lady M. Martin [see p. 249] also M. Christopher Brooke,² whom I thanke still for his no lesse elegant then serious verses M. Equinoctiall Pastiecrust, of the Middle Temp[le]³ M. William Hackwell⁴, and the rest of the worthy gentlemen frequenting your honourable table, that favour vertue and the sacred Muses to the most heavenly councile of the Eternall Jehovah.

Your Honors most obsequious bondsman

THOMAS CORRYAT.

From the court of the Great Mogul, resident in the towne of Asmera, in the Easterne Indes, on Michaelmas day, Anno 1615.

I beseech Your Honour to speake courteously to this kind minister, M. Rogers, for my sake, for he ever shewed himselfe very loving unto me.

¹ Sir Robert Phelps, a prominent parliamentarian. He was knighted at the same time as his father (1603).

² Brooke was a lawyer and a friend of Ben Jonson. His poems were reprinted in 1872.

³ John Hoskins (see p. 258) was another friend of Jonson and a well-known wit.

⁴ William Hackwell, legal antiquary and parliamentarian.

III

To the High Seneschall of the Right Worshipfull Fraternitie of Sirennial Gentlemen, that meet the first Fridaie of every moneth at the signe of the Mere Maide in Broad-streete in London, give these.¹

From the court of the Great Mogul resident at the towne of Asmere, in the Easterne India.

Right generous, joviall and mercuriall Sirennicks, I have often read this Greeke proverb, *χρὴ χρῆμα σκωρε*² that is. one hand washeth another and in Latine, *Mulus mulum scabuit*,³ one mule scratcht the another, by which the ancients signified that courtesies done unto friends ought to bee requited with reciprocal offices of friendship. The serious consideration hereof hath make me to call to mind that incomparable elegant safe-conduct which a little before my departure from England your Fraternity with a general suffrage gave me for the security of my future peregrinant in corroborated by the pleasant wit of that admirable artizan of sweet elegancy, the mothe of my heart and the quondam Seneschall of the noblest Society, Master L. W[hitaker]. Therefore, since it is requisite that I should repay somewhat for the same according to the lawes of humanity such a poore retribution as I sent unto you from Aleppo the metropolitan city of Syria, by one M. Henry Allart of Kent my fellow-pilgrimage hereunto to Jerusalem, I meant a phaine epistle which I hope long since came unto your hands, I have sent unto you by a more no less deare unto me then the former, one M. Peter Rogers, a Kerlisa man also from the most fatiguerated region of all the least the ample and large India, assuring my selfe that because I am not able to requite your love with any essentiall gratulations, other then verball and scriptall you will as lovingly entertaine my poore letters bearing the certaine manifestation of an ingenious trade, as if I should send unto you the innerall riches or drugges of the noble country.

¹ Purchas notes that Rogers delivered this letter to him.

² The verb occurs among the fragments of Epicharmus, in the form *χρὴ τὰς χρεῖας ἄλλα*.

Ausonius, *dyli* a. 12. has *Mulorum mulo scabunt*.

Thinke it no wonder I pray you that I have made no use in all this space since I left my native country of the super excellent *commedie* [passport, Latin commentary] for I have spent all my time hitherto in the Muscovitan countries, and am like to spend three years more in these Muscovian and Hyrcanian regions of Asia after of learning before I shall arrive in Christendome. For this cause I left it in Aleppo, with my countrymen there to receive it from them againe, after that I shall have ended my Indian and Persian peregrination, and thereafter to carry it once more to Constantinople, and that by the way at Iconium, Nicomedia, and in the country of Satalia a journey of forty daies. From that time is through the heart of Greece by the cities of Athens, Thebes, Corinth, Laconia, Thessalonica, and to the cite of Hagopole, hitherto *Epiphania* so sacred for the image of Aesculapius in the country of Schizonia once called Hyeron, from thence I have three daies journey to the inevitable danger I set in the top of the Adriaticke Gape as once I said in the first draught that ever I made to Prince Henry of blessed memory translated since my departure from London from the terrestrial tabernacles to the celestial habitation, victorious Venice the sovereign queen of the *Mare Superum*. If the great Jehovah shall be so propitious unto mee as to grant mee a prosperous arrivall in that noble citie I will there beginne to shew your safe conduct unto deservate, yea and blazon your praises for the same, and after in every other place of note until I shall arrive in glorious London, communicate it to the most polite with that the cities will yield it rough which my laborious feete shall carry mee.

It would be supervacuous to commend me into the almost incredible extent of land I traverse from Jerusalem to the court of the Great Mogul in India where I now reside with the variable regions and provinces interjacent betwixt them and the manifold occurrences and observations of speciall worke [worth?] in this vaste track for it wold be such a fastidious discourse that it could not be well comprehended in a large sheete of paper. But M[aster] Whittaker I hope, will not faile to impart unto you in a few compendious relations, which I have acquainted him with, in a particular letter to

himselfe, of which if I should have written againe to you, it would have proved *Cranbe his Cocta*.

The gentleman that bringeth this letter unto you was preacher to the English merchants conversant at the court of the aforesaid mighty monarch in the towne of Asniere in this Easterne India, and in divers loving offices hath bene so kind unto me that I intreat your generousities to entertaine him friendly for my sake, to exultate him with the purest quintessence of the Spanish, French and Rhenish grape which the Mermaid yieldeth, and either one in the name of you all, or else the totall universalltie of the one after another, to thank him heartily, according to the quality of his merits. Farewell, poble Sirenavels.

Your Generosities most obliged countreyman ever to be commended by you, the Hierosolymitan-Syrian-Mesopotamian-Armenian-Median-Parthian-Persian-Indian-Leggestretcher of Odecomb in Somerset,

THOMAS CORYATE.¹

A postscript, dated 8 Nov., 1615, is given a list of persons to whom Coryat desired to be commended. This includes 'the two Ladies Verney the mother and the daughter' 'that famous antiquaire, Sir Robert Cotton' 'Master William Ford Preacher to our nation at Constantinople' 'George Speake, son of Sir George Speake' 'John Douce, Richard Martin, of the Middle Temple' 'Christopher Brooke of York and Lincolnshire' 'John Haskins, alias Equivoctall Posturist' 'George Garrist' 'William Hackwell, or Haskwell, of Lincolnshire'.

Benjamin Johnson, the poet, at his chamber at the Black Friars' John Bond, chief secretary to the Lord Chancellor, 'Master Doctor Mocket' and Samuel Purchas. There is also a postscript containing a message to the Bishop of Bath and Wells James Montague, promising to write him a letter which shall not bee unworthy to bee read to the Kings most excellent Majesty*.

Some of the persons mentioned require no introduction to the reader and others have been already described on pp. 249-255. Several of them had contributed laudatory verses to the *Cruickshanks*. The Ladies Verney were Mary third wife of Sir Edmund Verney the elder, and a niece, her daughter by a former husband wife of Sir Francis Verney. Bond was a physician and classical scholar secretary to Lord Chancellor Egerton and Dr. Richard Mocket was Warden of All Souls and a theologian of some repute.

IV

To his Loving Mother.

By this present letter I am like to transfer unto you the occasion of two contrary matters the one of comfort, the other of discomfort. Of comfort, because I have by the propitious assistance of the omnipotent Jehovah, performed such a notable voyage of Asia the Greater with purchase of great riches of experience as I doubt whether any English man this hundred yeeres have done the like, having seen and very particularly observed all the chiefest things in the Holy-land called in times past Paestina, as Jerusalem, Samaria, Nazareth, Betanchem, Jericho, Emmaus, Bethania the Dead sea, called by the Ancients Lacus Asphaltites, where Sodome and Gomorrah once stood. Since that many famous and renowned cities and countries, Mesopotamia, in the west I called by the passage of the river Euphrates, that watered Paradise, in which the city of Ur where Abraham was borne, both the Medias, the Higher and the Lower, Partia Armenia Persia, through all which I have travailed into the Eastern India being now at the court of the Great Mogull at a towne called Asmere, the which from Jerusalem is the distance of two thousand and seven hundred miles, and have triced all this tedious way afoote with no small toyle of bodie and discomfort.

Because that being so exceeding farr from my sweet and most delicious native soyle of England you will doubt perhaps how it is possible for me to returne home againe, but I hope I shall quickly remove from you that opinion of discomfort (if at the least you shall conceive any such) because I would have you know that I alwayes go safely in the company of caravans from place to place. A caravan is a word much used in all Asia, by which is understood a great multitude of people travelling together upon the way, with camels, horses, mules, asses, etc., in which they carry wares and lizes from one country to another, and tents and pavilions under which instead of houses they shelter themselves in open fields, being furnished also with all necessary provision, and con-

venient implements to dresse the same; in which caravans I have ever most securely passed betwixt Jerusalem and this towne, a journey of fifteene months and odde dayes; whereof foure (waiting a weeke) spent in Aleppo, and two and five and od dayes spent in Spahan, the metropolitan city of Persia, where the Persian King most commonly keepeth his court. And the occasion of my spending of sixe monthes of the foresaide fifteene in those two cities, was to waite for an opportunity of caravans to travell withall, which a traveller is not sure to finde presently when he is ready to take his journey, but must with patience expect a convenient time, and the caravan in which I travelled betwixt Spahan and India contained 2000 camels, 1500 horses, 1000 and odde mules, 800 asses, and sixe thousand people. Let this therefore (dear mother) minister unto you a strong hope of my happy returne into England.

Notwithstanding all these lines for provocation for your funeral, I hope for to see you alive and sound in body and minde, about foure yeares hence, and to kneele before you with effusion of teares for joy. Sweet mother pray let not this wound your heart, that I say four yeares hence, and not before, I humbly beseech you, even upon the knees of my heart, with all supplicacions and applications, to pardon me for my long absence, for verily, I have resolved, by the favour of the supernall powers, to spend 4 ent re yeares more before my returne, and so to make it a pilgrimage of 7 yeares, to the end I may very effectually and profitably contemplate a great part of this worldly fabrick, determining by Gods speciall be; to go from India into the countrey of Scythia now called Tartaria, to the citie Samarcanda, to see the sepulcher of the greatest conqueror that ever was in the worlde, Tamberlane the Great, to witte it is a journey of two months from the place I now remaine. From that I meant to return into Persia; and thence, by the way of Babylon and Ninive, and the mountaine Ararat, where Noahs arke rested to Aleppo, to my countrymen. From that, by the way of Damascus, and once again to Gaza in the hand of the Philistines unto Cairo in Egypt, from that downe the Nile to Alexandria, and thence finally I hope to be embarked for some part of Christendome, as either

Venice, or etc. After mine arrivall in Christendome, I shall desire to travell two yeares in Italy, and both High and Low Germany, and then with all expedition into England, and to see you (I hope) with as grent joy as ever did any traveller his father or mother. Going in that manner as I do, like a poore pilgrime, I am like to passe with undoubted security and very small charge; for in my tenne months traves betwixt Aleppo and this Moguls court, I spent but three pounds sterling and yet had sustenance enough to maintaine nature living reasonably well, oftentimes a whole day for so much of their money as doeth countervale two pence sterling. But lest I be over tedious unto you, I will heere make an end, etc.

I wold now commend you to the most blessed protection of our Saviour Jesus Christ, before whose holy sepulcher at Jerusalem I have poured fourth mine ardent orisons for you to the most sacrosanct Trinity, beseeching It, with all humilitie of heart, to blesse and preserve you in a solid health, etc.

Your loving sonne,

THO. CORYATE.

V

To His Mother.

From Agra, the capitall city of the dominion of the Great Mogoll in the Eastern India, the last of October, 1616.

Most deare and welbeloved Mother,

Though I have superscribed my letter from Azmere, the court of the greatest monarch of the East called the Great Magoll, in the Eastern India, which I did to this end that those that have the charge of conveyance thereof, perceiving such a title, may be the more careful and diligent to convey it safely to your hands: yet in truth the place from which I wrote this letter is Agra, a city in the said Eastern India which is the metropolitan of the whole dominion of the foresaid

King Mogol, and 10 daies journey from his court at the said Azmere.

From the same Azmere I departed the 12 day of September An 1616, after my abode there 12 monthes and 60 daies which though I confesse it were a too long time to remaine in one and the selfe same place, yet for two principall causes it was very requisite for me to remaine there some reasonable time : first, to learne the languages of those countries through which I am to passe betwixt the bounds of the territories of this prince and Christendome, namely these three, the Persian, Turkish and Arab (which I have a some competent measure attained unto by my labour and industry at the said Kings court, matters as available unto me as money in my purse, as being the cheefest or rather onely meane to get me money if I should happen to be destitute, a matter very incidentall to a poore footman in grim as my selfe, in these heathen and Mahometan countries through which I travell, secondly, that by the helpe of one of those languages (I meane the Persian) I might both procure unto my selfe access unto the King, and be able to expresse my mind unto him about the matter for the which I should have occasion to discourse with him. These were the reasons that moved me so long to tarry at the Mogols court, during which time I abode in the house of the English merchants, my deare countrymen not spending one little peece of money, either for diet, washing, lodging, or any other thing. And as for the Persian tongue which I studied very earnestly I attained to such reasonable skill (and that in a few months) that I made an oration unto the King before many of his nobles in that language and, after I had ended the same, discoursed with His Majesty also in that tongue very readily and familiarly ; the copy of which speech, though the tongue it selfe wil seem to an Englishman very strange and unorth, as having no kind of affinity with any of our Christian languages, I have for novelty sake written out in this letter, together with the translation thereof in English, that you may shew it to some of my learned friends of the clergy and also of the temporality in England and elsewhere, who, belike, will take some pleasure in reading so rare and unusuall a tongue as this is. The Persian is thus that followeth.

The topic of an Oration that I made in the Persian tongue,
in the Great Mogul's palace at one of his Nobles.

Hazret Athon pernah datang ke negeri Dardus ke tanah-
gesitan basam karena epadun na wadageta door gawa na
nunk Ingizan ke kessamian pethen Lashacas carland ke
wadhageta mazoor der akers magrub laod. ke mader mazam
jazzarits daungut. Sabelbe amadane nari na buast bar
phaz ast ariwa be dedane mobartek deedats. Hazret ke
aete carmal ba kaminu Turkistan reesetlast ocha timan
mulk Musakmanan der sheenedan awastte. Hazret daterin
amadane be deedane astawne ukdaa mubshraf gesitara wahan

* The Persian has been cited exactly as it appears in the original text printed in German and Latin. The scholar Charles Leake kindly furnished the following manuscript, which does not, however, attempt to correct the original wording or grammar.

[illegible]

bray deedane feelhas Hazaret, kin chum janooar der heech
mulk ne deda a sen in bray deedane nanower daryae shawma
Ganga, ke Serdare haama daryaa Junest Chaharum een
ast, kevee firmawee alshaton anay et fermoyand, ke betwanam
der wellayetts Vzbeck raftan ba shaare Samareand, bray
zeerat cardan cabore moharree Sahib crawncan awsafta tang
oo mosachere ou der tamam aalam meshoor ast beader
welagette Vzbec eencader meshoor neest chuman che der mule
Iqglasn ast digr, bishare eshteae darom be deedane moharree
mesare Sahib crawncan bray een saheb, che awne waman che
focheer de shabr Stampoel boodam, veaarb cobus amarat
deedam dernean yecush bawg nasder shabt masoor coia che
padshaw Eezawiawn che namesh Maniel bood che Sahib
crawncan eush mehmannec aseem carda bood. baad as gristane
Sulten Baasatra as lange aseem che shuda bood nas dee shaare
Bursa, comache Sahib crawn Sultan Baasatra de Zencera
teawo bestand oo der cafen nahadond een char chees mern
as mulche man rum haneed tamia as mule Room oo Arnac
perada grshta as door ler een mule reserwan che char hasar
pharsang raw darad, beshare dero oo mohuet casheerwan che
heech ches der een duania een eader mohuet ne casheedast
bray deed ine moharree dedare Hazeretet awn roon che be
tacte shough ne shaughtee musharaf fermoodand

The English of it is this.

Lord¹ Protector of the World all hail to you. I am a poore
traveller and world-seer which am come hither from a furre
country, namely England. which ancient historians thought
to have been situated in the farthest bounds of the West, and
which is the queene of all the lands in the world. The cause
of my coming hither is for foure respects. First to see the
blessed face of Your Majesty, whose wonderfull fame hath
resounded over all Europe and the Mahometan countries
when I heard of the fame of Your Majesty, I hastened hither
with speed, and travelled very cherefully to see your glorious
court. Secondly to see Your Majesties elephants, which kind

¹ "This is the ordinary title that is given him by all strangers
(marginal note).

of beests I have not seen in any other country. Thirdly, to see your famous river Ganges, which is the capitaine of all the rivers of the world. The fourth is this: to intreat Your Majesty that you would vouchsafe to grant mee your gracious passe that I may travell into the country of Tartaria to the city of Samarcand, to visit the blessed sepulcher of the Lord of the Corners¹ (this is a title that is given to Tutobetac in this country in that Persian language, and whereas they call him the Lord of the Corners, by that they meane that he was lord of the corners of the world, that is, the highest and supreme monarch of the universe), whose fame, by reason of his warres and victories, is published over the whole world: perhaps he is not altogether so famous in his own country of Tartaria as in England. Moreover, I have a great desire to see the blessed tombe of the Lord of the Corners for this cause: for that when I was at Constantinople, I saw a notable old building in a pleasant garden neere the said city, where the Christian Emperour that was called Emperour [Maurice Palaeologus] made a sumptuous great banquet to the Lord of the Corners, after he had taken Sultan Bajazet in a great battell that was fought neere the city of Bursa [Brusa], where the Lord of the Corners bound Sultan Bajazet in fetters of gold, and put him in a cage of iron.² These four causes moved me to come out of my native country, thus farre having travelled a foote through Turky and Persia. So farre have I traced the world into this country, that my pilgrimage hath accompanished three thousand miles, wherein I have sustained much labour and toyle, the like whereof no mortal man in this world did ever performe, to see the blessed face of Your Majesty since the first day that you were inaugurated in your glorious monarchall throne.

¹ *Sāhib-i Kūnā*, properly *Qānūn*, a title largely used by Timūr. Coryat is wrong in his mentioning which is the title of the auspicious conjunction according to the tradition, and in his placing it at the time of Timūr's birth. Coryat has evidently confused *qānūn* with *ḥudūd* ("boundary" or "limit").

² The reference is to the battle of Angora, 1402, in which Timūr defeated and captured Palaeologus. The story of the iron cage is a myth (see, e.g., *The Lion and the Lamb*, chap. 65).

After I had ended my speech, I had some short discourse with him in the Persian tongue, who amongst other things told me that concerning my travel to the city of Samarcand he was not able to do me any good, because there was no great amity betwixt the Tartarian princes and himselfe, so that his commendatory letters would doe me no good. Also he added that the Tartars did so deadly hate all Christians that they would certainly kill them when they came into their country, so that he earnestly dissuaded me from the journey, if I loved my life and welfare. At last he concluded his discourse with me by a sum of money that he threw downe from a windowe through which he looked out, into a sheete tied up by the foure corners, and hanging very neer the ground a hundred peeces of silver each worth two shillings sterling which countervailed ten pounds of our English money. Thus having I carried so secretly, by the help of my Persian, that neither our English Ambassador, nor any other of my countrymen (saving one speciall, private, and intrinsical friend) had the least inkling of it till I had thoroughly accomplished my designe, for I well knew that our Ambassador would have stopped and barricadoed all my proceeding therein, if he might have had any notice thereof, as indeed he signified unto me after I had effected my project, alleging this forsooth for his reason why he would have hindered me, because it would redound some what to the dishonour of our nation that one of our country should present himselfe in that beggarly and poore fashion to the King, out of an insinuating humour to crave money of him, but I answered our Ambassador in that stout and resolute manner, after I had ended my business, that he was contented to cease nibbling at me. Never had I more need of money in all my life then at that time, for in truth I had but twenty shillings sterling left in my purse by reason of a mischance I had in one of the Turkes cities called Emert,^a in the country of Mesopotamia, where a miscreant Turke stripped me of almost all my monney, according as I wrote unto you in a very large letter the last yeer, which I

^a Corvat has already stated (p. 256) that this incident took place at Diarbekr. Apparently he is here giving that town its alternative name of (Hara, Agud.

sent from the court of this mighty monarch by one of my countrymen that went home by sea in an English shipp^e laden with the commodities of this India, which letter I hope came to your hands long since.

After I had been with the King, I went to a certaine noble and generous Christian of the Armenian race,¹ two daies journey from the Mogols court, to the end to observe certain remarkable matters in the same place to whom by means of my Persian tongue I was so welcome that hee entertained me with very civil and courteous complement, and at my departure gave mee very bountifully twenty pecces of such kind of mony as the King had done before, countervailing 40 shillings sterling. About ten daies after that, I departed from Azinere, the court of the Mogol Prince, to the end to begin my pilgrimage after my long rest of fourteen moneths back againe into Persia; at what time our Ambassador gave mee a peece of gold of this Kings come worth foure and twenty shillings,² which I will save (if it be possible) till my arrivall in England. So that I have received for benevolences since I came into this country twenty markes sterling [13s. 4d. each] saving two shillings eight pence and by the way upon the confines of Persia a litle before I came into this country three and thirty shillings foure pence³ in Persian mony of my Lady Sherly. At this present I live in the city of Agra, where hence I wrote this letter, about twelve pounds sterling which, according to my manner of living upon the way at two pence sterling a day (for with that proportion I can live pretty well, such is the cheapnes of all eatable things in Asia, drinkable things costing nothing, for seldome doe I drinke in my pilgrimage any other liquor then pure water), will maintaine mee very competently three yeeres in my travell with meate drinke and clothes. Of these gratuities which have been given me willingly would I send you some part as a demonstration of the final love and

This was probably the well-known Mirza Zulkarnain who farmed the salt works at the Sāmāhar Lake, about forty miles north-east of Agra. See Father Hostens article on him in *Memorie of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. v no. 3, p. 22.

² A good mohar, valued by Coryat at twelve rupees.

³ Doubtless a hundred *shakhs*. On p. 243 Coryat gives the sum as 40s.

affectiōn which every child breed in civility and humanity ought to performe to his loving and good mother, but the distance of space betwixt this place and England the hazard of tomes I yes in so long a journey, and also the multitude of many men, who though they live to come home, are unwilling to render an account of the things they have received, doe not a little discourage me to send any precious token unto you. but if I live to come one day to Constantinople againe for thither doe I resolve to goe once more, by the grace of Christ and therefore to take my passage by land into Christendome over renowned Greece,, I will make chace of some substantial and faithfull countreman by whom I will send some pretty token as an expression of my dutifull and obedient respect unto you.

I have not had the opportunity to see the King of Persia as yet since I came into this country, but I have resolved to goe to him when I come next into his territories, and to search him out wheresoever I can find him in his kingdome for seeing I can discourse with him in his Persian tongue, I doubt not but that, going unto him in the forme of a pilgrime, he will not onely entertaine me with good words, but also bestow some worthy reward upon me, bescoming his dignity and person, for which cause I am provided before hand with an excellent thing written in the Persian tongue, that I meane to present unto him. And thus I hope to get benevolences of worthy persons to maintaine me in a competent manner in my whole pilgrimage til I come into England which I hold to be as laudable and a more secure course then if I did continually carry store of money about mee.

In the letter which I wrote unto you by an English ship the last yeere, I made relation unto you both of my journey from the once holy Hierusalem hither and of the state of this Kings court, and the customes of this country, therefore I hold it superfluous to repeat the same things againe. But what the countryes are that I meane to see betwixt this and Christendome and how long time I will spend in each country I am unwilling to advertise you of at this present, desiring rather to signify that unto you after I have performed my designe then before. Howbeit, in few words I will tell you of certaine cities of great renown in former times, but now partly ruined,

that I resolve (by Gods help) to see in Asia, where I now am, namely ancient Babilon and Nymrods Tower some few miles from Nineve, and in the same the sepulcher of the prophet Jonas, spacious and goodly, Caire in Egypt heretofore Memphis, upon the famous river Nilus, where Moyses, Aron, and the Children of Israel lived with King Pharaoh whose ruined palace is shewed there til this day, and a world of other movable things as memorable as any city of the whole world yieldeth, saving only Jerusalem. But in none of these or any other cities of note do I determine to linger as I have done in other places, as in Constantinople and Azmire in this Eastern India, only some few daies will I tarry in a principall city of fame, to observe every principal matter there and so be gone.

In this city of Agra where I am now I am to remaine about six weekes longer to the end to expect an excellent opportunity which then will offer it selfe unto me to goe to the famous river Ganges, about five daies journey from this to see a memorable meeting of the gentle people of this country called Barcans,¹ whereof about foure hundred thousand people go thither of purpose to bathe and shave themselves in the river, and to sacrifice a world of gold to the same river, partly in stamped mony and partly in mussey great lumps and wedges, throwing it into the river as a sacrifice, and doing other strange ceremonies most worthy the observation.² Such a notable spectacle it is, that no part of all Asia, neither this which is called the Great Asia nor the Lesser, which is now called Natolia, the like is to be seen. This shew doe they make once every yeere, comming thither from places almost a thousand miles off and honour their river as their God, Creator, and Saviour, superstition and impiety most abominable in the highest degree of these brutish ethnicks, that are aliens from Christ and the common-wealth of Israel. After I have seen

¹ A misprint for *Barmans*, meaning Hindus.

Coryat appears to be referring to the annual bathing festival at Hardwar and on the first day of the Hindu sacred year in 1617 this would be about the end of March. Torrey ed. 1906, p. 88 expressly states that Coryat visited Hardwar. The nature of Coryats account seems to have exaggerated the amount of gold offered on such occasions, though Dr. William Crooke, C.I.E. tells me that he has known of small coins, and sometimes some gold, being dropped into the pool.

this shew I wil with all expedition repaire to the city of Lahore, twenty daies journey from this, and so into Persia, by the helpe of my blessed Christ.

Thus have I imported unto you some good accidents that happened unto me since I wrote a letter unto you the last yeere from the Kings court, and some litle part of my resolution for the discharging of a part of my task of labors in Asia, therefore now I wil draw to a conclusion. The time I cannot best waken I shal come home, but as my mercifull God and Saviour shall dispose of it. Among a rabble of commendations, like to that which I wrote in my last letter to you, I find not so requisite to make at this present. Therefore with remembrance of some few friends mine, I will shut up my present epistle. I pray you recommend me first to Oldmabe to Master Collop, and every good body of his family, if he liveth yet, to Master Berke his wife and all his family, to all the Knights, William Chert, John Seely, Hugh Donne, and their wives, to Master Atkins and his wife at Norton. I pray commend me to Eul to these, to old Mr. Seward, if he liveth, his wife and children, the poore Widew Darby, old Mister Dyer and his sonne John, Master Ewins, old and young, with their wives, Master Phelpes and his wife, Master Starre and his wife, with the rest of my good friends there. I had almost forgotten your husband² to him also, to Ned Barber and his wife, to Walham Jennings. Commend me also, I pray you, and that with respectfull and dutifull termes, to the good and reverent Interstitie of preachers that every second Friday meet at a religious exercise at Eul, at the least, if that exercise doth continue, pray read this letter to them, for I thinke they wibe well pleased with it, by reason of the novelties of things. And so finally I comitt you and all them to the blessed protection of Almighty God.

Your dutifull, loving, and obedient sonne, now a
desolate pilgrim in the world

THOMAS CORIAT.

Probably Sir Edward and Sir Robert Phelipe.

The Rev. John Seward, of Yeck, to whom Laurence Whitaker addressed a letter in praise of the *Crusades*, printed as an introduction to that work.

² Coriat's mother had evidently married again, see a passage in the commendatory verses prefixed to the 1618 pamphlet.

The copy of a speech that I made to a Mahometan in the Italian tongue.

The copy of a speech that I made extempore in the Italian tongue to a Mahometan at a cite called Moltan in the Eastern India, two daies journey beyond the famous river Indus, which I have passed against Mahomet and his accursed religion, upon the occasion of a discourtesie offered unto mee by the said Mahometan in calling me *Giaur*, that is to say, by reason that I was a Christian. The reason why I spake to him in Italian was because he understood it having been taken slave for many yeeres since by certaine Florentines in a galee wherein hee passed from Constantinople towards Alexandria, but being by them interrupted by the way he was carried to a cite called Legorne (Leghorn in the Duke of Tuscanyes dominions, where after two yeeres he had learned good Italian, but he was an Indian borne and brought up in the Mahometan religion. I pronounced the speech before an hundred people, whereof none understood it but himselfe, but hee afterward told the meaning of some part of it as far as he could remember it to some of the others also. If I had spoken this speech in Turkey or Persia against Mahomet, they would have roasted me upon a spitt, but in the Mogles dominions a Christian may speake much more freely then hee can in any other Mahometan country in the world. The speech was thus as I afterward translated it into English.

But I pray thee, tell me, thou Mahometan dost thou in sadnes [i.e. in seriousness] call me *Giaur*? That I doe quoth he. Then quoth I in very so sadnes I reuert that shamefull word in thy il roote, and tell thee plainly that I am a Musulman and to be art a *Giaur*. For by that Arab word *Musulman* thou dost understand that which cannot be properly applied to a Mahometan, but onely to a Christian, so that I doe consequently inferre that there are two kindes of Muselmans the one an orthomusulman, that is a true Musulman which is a Christian, and the other a pseudo-musulman, that is, a false Musulman, which is a Mahometan. What thy Mahomet was,

¹ *Giaour*, an infidel, from the Persian *gaur* or *yabr*, through the Turkish *gyour*.

from whom thou dost derive thy religion, assure thy self I know better than any one of the Mahometans amongst many millions, yea all the particular circumstances of his life and death, his nation, his parentage, his driving him self through Egypt, Syria, and Persia, the marrying of his mistress by whose death he raised himself from a very base and contemptible estate to great honour and riches, his manner of converting the foolish people of Arabia partly by a tame pigeon that did fly to his cave for meat, and partly by a tame dove that he fed by hand every day with the rest of his actions both in peace and warre. I know as well as if I had lived in his time or had were one of his neighbours in Mecca. The truth whereof if thou dost know as well I am perswaded they would testifie in the face of thy *Mahomet*, and triple t order thy fate and bury it under a jax [*jac prax*] a book of that strange and weak matter that I have so far as heartily as thou dost see me affred now have already written two better bookees (God be thanked) and will hereafter this thy Gods gracious permission write another better and truer. Yea I well have thee know that Mahometan that in that renowned kingdom of England were I was borne learning of this *Humanist* that there are many thousand booke of sixtine yeeres of age that are able to make a more learned booke than thy *Mahomet*. Neither was it as thou and the rest of you Mahometans doe generally believe composed wholly by Mahomet for hee was of so dulle a wit as he was not able to make it without the helpe of another namely a certain renegade's besker of Constantinople called Sergius.¹ So that his *Alcoran* was like an arrow drawne out of the quiver of another man. I perceive thou dost wonder to see me so much affraid with anger but I would have thee consider it is no without great cause I am so moved for what greater iniquity can there be offered to a Christian which is an *Armenian* man to be thus slandered by a *heathen* for Christ whose religion I professe is of that incomparable dignity that as thy *Mahomet* is not worthy to be named, that yette when my blessed Christ is, so neither

¹ Sergius or GEORGIUS, known to Mahomet as well as for his see the *Encyclopaedia* of *oriental* *arts*, and *literature*. [*See* *Encyclopaedia* p. 171] The assertion in the text is not a *question* of modern scholars.

is his Meccan worshipp to be named that verre wherein the
Injels of my Christ s^e. I have observed among the Mahomet-
tans such a foule forme of ruer ever since my departure
from Spainn which I confesse was no novelty unto me for
that I had observed the like before both in Constantinople and
divers other Turkish cities. And what with your vain repeti-
tions and divers other prophane fooleries contained therein,
I am certaine your prayers doe even stinke before God, and are
of no more force then the cry of thy currell when thou dost
laide or unmade him. But the prayers of Christians have so
prevailed with God that in time of draught they have obtained
sweeteent abatement of raine, and in time of pestilence a
suddaine cessation from the plague: such an effect of holy and
fervent prayer as never did the *Druffetals* or the *Illamuel*
glors of my Mahometan people. Yet must wee whose
prayers like a sweete sanctifying sacrifice are acceptable to God,
be estimated losers by those whose prayers are odious unto
His Divine Majesty. O times! O manners!

Now as I have told thee the difference betwixt the effect of
our Christian and your Mahomettan prayers, so I pray thee
observe another difference betwixt you and us, that I will
presently animate unto thee. Thou by the observation of the
law of thy ridiculous Meccan dost hope for Paradise wherein
thy master Mahomet hath promised rivers of rye and to
virgins the embracing of angels under the shadowes of spacious
trees: though in truth that Paradise be nothing else then a
fittie quagmire so full of stinking dung hee that a man cannot
walke two spaces there but he shall stumble at a dung-hill and
defile himselfe, but where this Paradise is not one amongst
a thousand of you knoweth: therefore I will tell thee. It
standeth in a country situate betwixt heaven and earth called
Utopia, whereof there is mention in the tani book of thy

This doe all Mohametans end our times, or the history of our
Saviour written by the four Evangelists. *margin note* The word
in *isrl* (= *evangelium*).

² Words that the Mahometans use when they pray in their prayers
margin note The first part is *in the name of the Lord* and the second
the second may be said that *in the name of the Lord* is a mysterious formula
La shana wa-wah, Muhammadus bismillah see p. 323.

Alcaron and in the seven and thirty Asaria,¹ but expressed with these mystical and obscure termes that is very difficult to understan it. For this Utopian Paradise, I say, as the reward of al your superstitious unblinking in your prayers and the often ducking downe of your heads, when you kisse the ground with such a devoute humble forsooth doe you Mahometans hope in another world? But wee Christians hope to live with God and His blessed angels for ever and ever in Heaven, as being a proper and peculiar inheritance purchased unto us by the precious blood of our Christ. Yet must wee be reputed Gaiars by those that are Gaiars?

One thing more will I tell thee (O thou Mahometan), and so I will conclude this tedious speech wherein thy discourtage calling of me Gaiar hath enforced mee. and I prethee observe this my conclusion. Learning (which is the most precious jewel that man hath in this life by which he attaineth to the knowlesse of divine and humane things) cometh to man either by revelation which we otherwise call inspiration or by industry. Learning by revelation I call that which God doth infuse from above by His special grace, unto those whom He will use as the instruments of His glory, who without labour or travell doe aspire to a most eminent degree of knowledge. Learning by industry, I call it that which a man doth purchase to himselfe by continuall writing and reading, by practise and meditation. Now by neither of these meanes have the Mahometans acquired any science much less any singular learning: for as Mahomet himselfe was a man of a very superficial and meane learning, so never was there any one of his disciples in any part of the world that was indowed with any profound knowledge. But wee Christians, by the one and the other meane have attained to the most exquisite science that can be ment to man.² Some of our men that never were brought up in studies having been so expert in a general learning (even by Gods special illumination) as those have spent forty yeeres

¹ The Kurān is not divided into books or into chapters, known as *sūras*. Asaria is apparently a noun for some form of *al-ʿashāʾ* (*as-shāʾikh*), which in the Latin translation of 1556, appears as *asoria*. The 37th *sūrah* is the one describing Paradise.

² I mean the blessed Apostles of our saviour' (marginal note).

in the practise thereof, and others, by continuall practise of writing and reading, have bene so excellent that they became the very lumper and stars of the countries wherein they lived. These things being so, it cannot possible come to passe that the Omnipotent God should deale so partially with mankind as to reveale His will to a people altogether remained in ignorance and blindness as you Mahometans are, and conceale it from us Christians that bestowe all our lifetime in the practise of divine and humane disciplines, and in the ardent invocation of Gods holy name with all sincerity and purity of heart. Goe to then thou pseudomusliman, that is, thou false-believer, since by thy injurious imputation laid upon mee, in that thou calledst mee Gaur, thou hast provoked mee to speake thus. I pray thee, let this mine answer be a warning for thee not to scandalize mee in the like manner any more. for the Christian religion which I profess is so deare and tender unto mee that neither thou nor any other Mahometan shal seed free call me Gaur but that I will and you with me answer much to the wonder of those Mahometans. *Thus*

I pray you neither expect no more letters from me after this till my arrivall in Chesteron because I have resolved to write no more while I am in the Mahometans countries thinking that it will be a farre greater comfort, both to you and to all my friends whatsoever to heare newes that I have accomished my travellies in Mahometisme, then that I am coming up and down to and fro in the same, without any certainty of an issue thereof. Therefore, I pray, have patience for a time. About two yeeres and a halfe hence I hope to blash these Mahometan travellies, and then either from the citie of Bagdad [Bagosa] in Selavonia which is a Christianitic and the first we enter into Christendome from those parts of Turkey by land here unto the same, or from famous Venice I wil very dutifullly remember you againe with lines full of filiall piety and officious respect.

I have written two letters to my Uncle Williams since I came forth of England and no more, whereof one from the Mogols court the last yeere just at the same time that I wrote unto you, and another now, which I sent jointly by the same

messenger that carried yours out of India by sea. Once more I recommend you and all our hearty wel-wishers and friends to the gracious tuition of the Lord of Hosts. I pray you, remember my duty to Master Hancock, that reverend and apostolicall good old man, and his wife, if they are yet living, to their sonnes Thomas and John and their wives.

Certaine observations written by Thomas Coryat¹

Whereas the beggers begge in this countrey of a Christian in the name of Bibee (*Bibi*), Lady Maria and not of Hazaret Eesa [see p. 246], there by we may gather that the Jesuits have preached Mary more then Jesus.

A great Raja a Gentile a notorious atheist and contemner of all deity, glorying to professe he knew no other God then the King, nor believing nor fearing none, sitting halting with his worne leg one of them plucked a haire from his breast, which being fast rooted, plucked off a little of the skinn, that blood appeared. This small skarre² festered and gangrened incurably, so that in few dayes he despaired of life. And being accompanied with all his friends and divers courtiers, he brake out into these excellent words. Which of you would not have thought that I, being a man of warre should have dyed by the stroke of a sword, speare or bow? But now I am forced to confesse the power of that great God whom I have so long despised, that Hee needs no other weapon then a little haire to kill so blasphemous a wretch and contemner of His majesty as I have beene.³

Behar Shaugh had learned all kind of sorcery, who being once in a strange humour to shew a spectacle to his nobles, brought forth his chafest queene, with a sworn cut off her head, and after the same, perceiving the heavynesse and sorrow of them for the death of her (as they thought), caused the head

¹ From *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, part 1, bk. 19, chap. 17.

² A word, now obsolete, for a crack or division. It is quoted as met from our ordinary 'sear'.

For an account of other versions of this story see *The Embassy of Sir P. Roe*, p. 311 n.

by vertue of his exorcismes and conjurations, to be set on
up, he beinge appearing if any stroke with his sword

Sultan Ibrahims had but one wife for which one principall
reason is that during his imprisonment the King intending to
make a building programme of foure moneths, consulted how to
keepe him safe in his absence—at last resolved to build a towre
and measure him within it without gate, doore, or window
except some small holes to let in ayre, higher then he could
come unto, putting in all sorts of provision whatsoever both
fire, clothes, etc. with some servants to abide with him for
that time. While this was building, his wife came and fell
at the Kings feete and never would let goe till shee had
obtainned leave to bee shut up with him. The King much
perswading to enjoy her libertie, she utterly refused any other
thing then to be the companion of her husband's miseries
and next which this was the greatest, that if any of those that
were imprisoned, being in number fifteen should have died in
the Kings absence, there was no meane to burye them, for
that no man was admitted to come neere the towre.

The fountaine found the first day by one of My Lords people,
Master Herbert (brother to Sir Edward Herbert),¹ which if
it had not done he, &c. Roe must have sent ten course every
day for water to a river called Natchole Natchadai that falleth
into the Bay of Cambaya at Hurochier Brouch the custome
being such that whatsoever fountaine or tanke is found by any
great man in time of drought, hee shall keepe it proper and
peculiar to himselfe without the interruption of any man
whosoever. The day after one of the Kings hadlyes being

¹ Khura's dedication to his wife, a daughter of Aziz Kaka, is said to have been in violation of the custom and consequence of his father's marriage. The Nā Mahā was written to him by her son, and Khura's reply implied that he would also educate her in the art of letter writing. In an earlier passage he carefully mentions his father's letter to her as a promise he scrupulously maintains (see *India Under the Portuguese*, vol. 5, p. 100, where also it is stated that he was frustrated on sharing his imprisonment).

² This is an incorrect place to stay at Mindu (see *The Embassy*, p. 382). For the Thomas Herbert here mentioned, see *The Journal of Thomas Herbert*, by Robert Kieckhefer and J. P. 120, and *Thomas Herbert* (ed. 1882, p. 178) may be consulted.

the same and striving for it, was taken by My Lords people and bound all etc., a great controversy being about it etc.

Remember the charity of two great men that, in the time of this great drought, were at the charge of sending ten camels with twenty persons every day to the said river for water, and did distribute the water to the poore, which was so dear, that they sold a little skanne for eight pice.

Behar Shahn a very fortunate prince, and pious to his mother, his piety appearing in this particular, that when his mother was carried away in a palanquin betwixt Lahor and Agra, he, traveling with her, took the palanquin upon his own shoulders, commanding his greatest officers to do the like, and so carried her over the river from one side to the other. And never denied her any thing but this, that she demanded of him, that our Bible might be hanged about his neck, and beaten about the towne of Agra, for that the Portugals, having taken a ship of theirs at sea, in which was found the Alcoran amongst the Moores, tied it about the necke of a dogge and beat the same dogge about the towne of Ormuz. But hee denied her request, saying that, if it were ill in the Portugals to doe so to the Alcoran, being it became not a thing to requite ill with ill, for that the contempt of any religion was the contempt of God, and he would not be revenged upon an innocent booke, the morall being that God would not suffer the sacred booke of His truth to be contemned amongst the infidels.

One day in the yeere, for the solace of the Kings women, all the louder wives enter the Mohul [see p. 148] with somewhat to sell, in manner of a faire, where the King is broker for his women and with his gaudes that night makes his supper, no man present.² (Observe that whatsoever is brought in of virill shape, as instance in reddishes, so great is the jealousy.

¹ At Mandu, caused by Jahāngir's heedlessness in fixing his camp in this deserted city. Roe [loc. cit.] speaks of the pitiful misery caused by the scarcity of water.

² For accounts of these fairs see the 4th vol. p. 276, *Constable's Travels of Bernier*, p. 272, and *The Travels of Peter Mundy*, vol. ii, p. 238.

and so frequent the wickednesse of this people, that they are cut and jagged for feare of converting the same to some (at out) trade abuse.) By this meanes hee attaines to the sight of all the prettie wenches of the towne. At such a kind of faire he got his beloved Normalhal

After Shauf Freed [Shaukh Farid] had wonne the battle of Lahor by a stratagem, the captaines being taken by the King and hanged upon flesh-hooks and stakes made an entrance for the King to Lahor. His sonne Cursaroon being then taken prisoner and riding bare-footed upon an elephant, his father demanded him how hee liked that spectacle of his valiant and faithfull captaines hanging in that manner to the number of two thousand. Hee answered him that hee was sorrie to see so much crueltie and injustice in his father, in executing them that had done nothing but their duty, for that they lived upon his bread and salt, but hee should have done right if hee had saved them and punished him, which was their monster and the author of the rebellion.

For more cleere declaration of this excellent vertue, upbraiding the coldnesse of our charitie, you shall understand a custome of this King, who sleeping in his Gable-can,² often when hee awakes in the night, his great men (except those that watch) being retired, calls for certayne poore and old men, making them sit by him, with many questions and familiar speeches passing the time, and at their departure cloathes them and gives them bountifull almes often whatsoever they demand, telling the money into their hands.

For a close of this discourse, I cannot forget that memorable

The victory by which Khusrav's rebellion was crushed. The stratagem seems to be that ment used on p. 19, of pretending that Jahangir's army arrived on the scene with all his forces (see also Herbert's *Some Years Travels*, p. 73). The conversation between Khusrav and his father is recorded by Terry (ed. 1855, p. 430), doubtless on Coryat's authority. Munier (vol. 1, p. 13), has a similar story but makes it relate to Jahangir's rebellion against Akbar.

² *Chakl khana*, bath-room, and hence a private apartment. For examples of Jahangir's respect for such ascetics, see Roe, pp. 366, 369.

poets when at Aenere hee¹ went about to the tombe of the prophet Hoel—Munshi there buried, and kindling a fire with his owne hands and his Normahal under that manse and He delberg² a brass pot³ and made kitchen⁴ for five thousand peere, taking out the first platter with his owne hands and serving one—Normahal the second, and so his ladies all the rest—Crucke take care out all the⁵ Papal charitie vaunters.

An Armeian, desirous to turne Moore procured a noble man to bring him to the King—when the King asked why hee turned Moore—whether for preferment? Hee answered No—some few monethes after, craving some courtesie of the King hee denied it him—saying that hee had done him the greatest favour that could bee I could him save his soule, but for his bodie hee himselfe should provide as well as he could.

The King likes not those that change their religion—his himselfe being of none but of his owne making—and therefore suffers all religions in his kingdom, which by this notable example I can make manifest—The King had a servant that was an Armeian by name Sauter⁶—to whom upon occasion of speech of religion the King asked if hee heard of either hee or the Padres had converted one Moore to bee a true Christian—and that was so for conscience sake and not for money—who answered with great confidence that hee had one which was a perfect Christian and for no worldly respect would bee other—whom the King caused presently to bee sent for—and biddng his master depart demanded why hee was become a Christian—who requied certayne feeble infantile Jesuiticall reasons—and

¹ Jahāngir. The reference is to the ceremony observed during the *Fes Mela* festival at the shrine of *Imam-ul-Muhtasib* (Shaykh) at Aenere when at the festival a *Shaykh* takes a *Shaykh* out of the *Shaykh*, and a *Shaykh* a *Shaykh* and a *Shaykh* a *Shaykh*.

² Equal in capacity to the great Ture of Heimborg—a descendant of which was one of the leaders of the *Shaykh* and *Shaykh*.

³ *Akhar* was a *kudzeer*—the common common fish of rice cooked with pulse and butter.

⁴ Probably this should be 'ye'.

⁵ *Shaykh*—was *Mirza* Shāh father of *Mirza* Zuhair—see p. 267 n. 1. *Faruk* Haden takes this view.

aswowed that hee would never be other. Whereupon the King
 practised by faire speeches and large promises to withdraw him
 to the folly of Mahomet, offering him pensions, meanes, and
 command of horse, telling him hee had now but foure rupias
 a moneth wages, which was a poore reward for quelling his
 preposured faith, but if hee would recant, hee would heape
 upon him many dignities, the King answering it was not
 for so small wages hee became Christian, for hee had riches
 and could carrie so much of any Mahometan, but that hee was
 a Christian in his heart, and would not alter it. This was not
 taking effect, the King turned to threatnings and menacings
 of tortures and whippings, but the piousste manfully
 resolving to suffer any thing, answered hee was ready to
 endure the Kings pleasure. Upon this resolution, when all
 men expected present and severe castigation, the King changed
 his tune, highly commending his constancie and honestie,
 bidding him goe and returne to his master, and to serve him
 faithfully and truly, giving him a rupia a day pension for
 his integritie. About two monethes after the King, having
 beene a hunting of wilde hogges (a beast odious to all Moores),
 and accustomed to distribute that sort of venison among
 Christians and Ragbootes, sent for this Armenian, master of
 this converted catechumen or Mahometan, to come and fetch
 part of his quicke. The Armenian not being at home, this
 his principall servant came to know the Kings pleasure, who
 commanded him to take up a hogge for his master (which no
 Moore wold touch), which hee did and being gone out of the
 court gate, was so hooded at by the Mahometans that hee
 throw downe his present in a ditch and went home concealing
 from his master what had passed. About foure dayes after,
 the Armenian coming to his watch, the King demanded of
 him whether the hogge he sent him were good meat or no,
 who replied hee neither heard nor see any hogge. Whereat
 the King, remembering to whom this hogge was delivered,
 caused the fellow to be sent for, and examining the matter,
 had it confessed how he throw away the hogge and never
 carried it home. The King pressing to know the reason, the
 poore fellow answered how he was mocked for touching it, and
 (it being a thing odious to the Moores) for shame he throw it

away. At which he replied: By your law there is no difference of meats, and are you ashamed of your lawes? Or to flatter the Mahumetans doe you an outward things forsake it? Now I see thou art neither good Christian nor good Mahumetar, but a dissembling knave with both. What I found thee sincere I gave thee a pension: which now I take from thee, and for thy dissimulation doe command thee to have a hundred stripes (which were presently given him in stead of his money), and bade all men by his example take heed that, seeing hee gave libertie to all religions, that which they choose and professe they may stickle unto.¹

Terry's Account of Coryat.²

And now Reader I would have thee to suppose me setting my foot upon the East-Indian shore at Swally before named on the banks whereof amongst many more English that by there interred, is laid up the body of Mr Thomas Coryat a man in his time *notus nimis omnibus* very sufficiently known. He lived there, and there died while I was in those parts, and was for some months then with my Lord Ambassadour, during which time he was either my chamber-fellow or tent-mate which gave me a full acquaintance of him. If he had lived he would have written his last travels to and in and out of East India: for he resolved (if God had spared him life) to have tramped up and down the world (as sometimes Cyprius did), and though not so long as he yet ten full years at least before his return home: in which time he purposed to see Tartaria, in the vast parts thereof, with as much as he could of China and those other large places and provinces interposed betwixt East India and China, whose true names we might have had from him but yet have not. He had a purpose after this to have visited the court of Prester John in Ethiopia who is there called by his own people *Ha Riut* the King, and after this it was in his thoughts to have cast his eyes upon many

¹ This anecdote bears a strong resemblance to one recorded in a letter from Father Jerome Xavier in 1604 which is reproduced by Sir Samuel Maclagan in his article on *Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar*. In this version the present was a live pig and was intended for a Portuguese.

From the 1666 edition of the *Voyage to East India* p. 57.

other places which if he had done and lived to write those relations, seeing one he did or should, such variety of countries, cities, nations, things, and been as particular in them as he was in his Venetian journey, they must needs have swoln into so many huge volumes as would have prevented the perishing of paper. But undoubtedly if he had been continued in life to have written them, there might have been made very good use of his observations. For, as he was a very particular so was he without question a very faithful relator of things he saw, he ever disclaiming that bold liberty which divers travellers have and do take by speaking and writing any thing they please of remote parts, when they cannot easily be contradicted, taking a pride in their feigned relations to overspeak things. And because he could not live to give an account unto the world of his own travels, I shall here by the way make some little recovery of his footsteps and stirrings up and down, to and fro, with something besides of our in his long peregrinations, to satisfy very many yet living who, if they shall please to read this discourse, may recall that man once more into their remembrance who, while he lived, was like a perpetual motion, and therefore now dead should not be quite forgotten. . . .¹

From Bener [Shiraz] they journeyed afterwards to Candahor, the first province north east under the subjection of the Great Mogul, and so to Lahore, the chiefest city but one belonging to that great empire—a place (as I have been often told by Tom Coryat and others) of very great trade, wealth, and delight, living more temperately out of the jangling sun than any other of his great cities do. And to this city he wanted not company, nor afterwards to Agra, the Mogul's metropolis or chief city. And here it is very observable that from Lahore to Agra it is four hundred English miles, and that the countrey betwixt both these great cities is rich, even, pleasant, and flat, a *campagna*, and the rude way on both sides all this long distance planted with great trees, which are all the year

¹ Terry's lengthy account of the earlier stages of Coryat's journey has been omitted partly because they are sufficiently described in his letters and the *ambasciata*, and partly because the reverend gentleman's statements are unreliable.

cloathed with leaves exceeding beneficial unto travellers for the shade they afford them in those hot climes. This very much extended length of way twixt these two places is called by travellers the *Jang Wee* very full of villages and towns for passengers every where to find provision.

At Agra our traveller made an halt being there lovingly received in the English factory where he staid till he had gotten to his Turkish and Marisco or Arabian languages some good knowledge in the Persian and Indosian languages. In which study he was always very apt and in little time shewed much proficiency. The first of those two, the Persian is the more quaint, the other the Indostan, the vulgar language spoken in East India. In both these he suddenly got such a knowledge and mastery that it did exceedingly afterwards advantage him in his travels up and down the Mogol's territories he wearing away the orbit of that nation and speaking their language. In the first of these the Persian tongue he took afterwards an initiation to the Great Mogol. Then having his short speech with some other pieces of flattery which the Mogol liked well concluded. And when he had done the Mogol gave him one hundred rupias which amounts to the value of twelve pounds and ten shillings of our English money. Looking upon this as a decrease or victory of judgment for so he called on — and such as bear that name in this country seem not much to care for money — and that was the reason I conceive that he gave him not a more plentiful reward.

After this he having got a great mastery likewise in the Indostan or more vulgar language there was a woman a luncheon belonging to a lord or ambassador's house who had such a freedom and liberty of speech that she would sometimes scold herself, and run from the stirring to himself. One day he undertook her in her own language and by eight of the clock in the morning so silenced her that she had not one word more to speak.

He was a man of a very weeping eye that could never be satisfied with seeing as Sultan speaks, *Predes* 18. Though he had seen very many — and I am persuaded that he took as much content in seeing as many others in the enjoying of

great and rare things. He was a man that had got the mastery of many hard languages as before I observed to the Latine and Greek he brought forth of England with him. in which, if he had obtained wisdom to husband and manage them as he had skill to speak them, he had deserved to be famous in his generation. But his knowledge and high attainments in several languages made him not a little ignorant of himself. he being so covetous so ambitious of praise that he would hear and endure more of it than he could in any measure deserve, being like a ship that hath too much sail and too little ballast. Yet if he had not fallen into the snare hands of the wiles of those times, he might have passed better. That itch of fame which engaged this man to the undertakings of those very hard and long and dangerous travels hath put Hamon to more and therefore it was not alone in this strange attempt, to only to be talked of. I was farre without doubt, and straggled

up that man into these voluntary but hard interlards, as the hope of that glory which he should reap after he had finished his long travels made him not at all take notice of the hardship he found in them. That hope of mine and repose to the time I came did even feed and feed me for the time present. And therefore any thing that I in any measure relieve him in these and conveyance of his own worth do too too much trouble him with a very heavy cost from these following instances. Upon the first one Mr Richard Steel a mercenary and servant to the East India Company, as he tells us from Surat to Madras the place Port of the Mughols residence at which time Mr Crayst was there with us. This merchant had not long before travelled overland from East India through Persia and so to Constantinople and so to England who in his travel homeward had met with John Corvay as he was journeying towards East-India. Mr Steel then told him that, when he was in England King

H. H. ... of Middleall has been mentioned on p. 51.
from ... at the end of 1914, and proceeded
the ... May, 1916. He was again
...
...
...
...
Embassy of Sir T. Han.

James (then living) enquired after him, and when he had certified the king of his mourning him, at the way, the king replied, 'Is that fool yet living?' Which, when our pilgrim heard, it seemed to trouble him very much, because the king spoke no more nor no better of him, saying that kings would speak of poor men what they please.

At another time, when he was ready to depart from us, my Lord Archbishop gave him a letter, and in that asked to receive ten pounds at Aleppo when he should return thither. The letter was directed unto Mr. Labbeys Chapmain, there resident at that time, in which that which concerned our traveller was thus: 'Mr. Chapmain, When you shall have these letters, I desire you to receive the bearer of them, Mr. Thomas Corvay, with courtesy, for you shall find him a very honest poor wretch. And further I must intreat you to furnish him with ten pounds, which shall be repayed to our pilgrim, I think the gift well, but the language by which he should have received it did not at all content him, telling me that my Lord had even spoiled his courtesy in the message thereof, so that if he had been a very fool indeed, he could have said very little less of him than he did (ill-wast poor wretch), and to say no more of him was to say as much as nothing. And furthermore, he then told me that, when he was formerly undertaking his journey to Venice, a person of honour wrote thus in his behalf unto Sir Henry Wotton, then and there Ambassador: 'My Lord Good wine needs no bush, neither a worthy man letters commendatory, because whithersoever he comes he is his own epistle, etc.' There said he, 'was some language on my behalf, but now for my Lord to write so much of me by way of commendation, but honest poor wretch is rather to trouble me than to please me with his favour. And therefore afterwards his letter was phrased up to his hand, but he never lived to receive the money. By which, his old acquaintance may see how tender this poor man was to be touched in any thing that might in the least measure disparage him. O what pains this poor man took to make himself a subject for present and after discourse, being troubled at nothing for the present, unless with the fear of not being to reap that fruit he was so ambitious of in all his undertakings. And certainly he was surprised with some such

thoughts and fears (for so he told us afterwards) when upon a time he being at Mancho with us and there standing in a room against a stone pillar where the barbers-lair was and myself present with them upon a sudden he fell into such a swoon that we had very much ado to recover him out of it. But at last come to himself he told us that some sad thoughts had immediately before presented themselves to his fancy which as he conceived put him into that danger like *Patris in Martial* ¹. *Ne morare mori* to prevent death by dying. For he told us that there were great expectations in England of the large accounts he should give of his travels after his return home and that he was now shortly to leave us and he being at present not very well (for should dye in the way towards Surat whether he was now intended to go (which place he had not as yet seen) he might be buried in obscurity and none of his friends ever know what becom of him) he travelling now as he usually did alone Upon which my Lord woud him to stay longer with us but he thankfully refused that offer and turned his face presently after towards Surat which was then about three hundred miles distant from us. And he eyed to come safely farther but there being over kindly used by some of the English who gave him sack which they had brought from England he craving for it as soon as he first heard of it and crying Sack sack is there more to this as sack? I pray give me some sack, and drugging of it though I conceive ² moderately for he was a very temperate man) it increased as flux which he had then upon him. And this caused him within a few daies after his very tedious and troublesome travels (for he went most on foot) at this place to come to his journey end. For here he overtook Death in the month of December 1617 and was buried as aforesaid) under a little monument like one of those are usually made in our church-yards.³

¹ *Hyperamara bile a n. 201*

² Cory adds a very nice epithet from his own pen which he suggests must have accompanied these old sack as well as these graves upon his tomb.⁴



EDWARD TERRY

The *Anne*, in which the ambassador and his suite returned, anchored in the Downs about the middle of September 1619. The next we hear of Terry is on October 22 when he appeared before the Court of Commissioners of the East India Company to beg to be released from paying freight on a quantity of calicoes he had brought home. His action was in fact a breach of the regulations, since the trade in piece-goods was reserved to the Company, but on hearing Roe's commendations of Terry's 'suber honest, and e villife' in India, the Commissioners 'were contented to pas over this fault' and to excuse him from any payment of freight. Further on learning that he had spent about £14 on books, most of which he had given to the factors in India, they ordered that this sum should be made good to him.

The reverend gentleman now went back for a while to his Oxford college. Probably it was there that he wrote the results of his observations in India, as now reprinted. This document in 1622 he presented in manuscript to the Prince of Wales afterwards King Charles I. How it came into the possession of the Rev. Samuel Purchas, who published it three years later in his *Pilgrimes* (part i. book x. chap. 6), is not known: but it is not unlikely that the Prince himself (to whom, by the way, the first volume of the *Pilgrimes* is dedicated) had made it over to that editor. That Terry himself was not consulted is suggested by the fact that in the preface to his own edition of 1656, he makes no allusion to the previous appearance of the work in Purchas's volumes, and it may be that he was further aggravated by the printing (sight as it was) to which the editor had subjected his manuscript, in the pleasant part of its contents had been anticipated in the narratives of Roe and others.

However this may be, Terry did not trouble about the matter, but settled down contentedly to his pastoral duties as Rector of Great Greenford, near London, a living which he held from 1620 till his death. There his ministrations appear to have afforded general satisfaction to judge from the account given of him by Anthony à Wood in his *Athenae Oxonienses* as 'an ingenious and polite man, of a pleasant and exemplary conversation, a good preacher, and much respected by the neighbourhood'. Only once, so far as we know did the East India Company take any notice of their former chaplain. This was in 1649, when they paid him the compliment of asking him to preach before them on the occasion of the almost simultaneous return of no less than seven of their ships from the East Indies. The sermon was duly delivered at the Church of St. Andrew Undershaft in Leadenhall Street, on September 6, and was afterwards printed under the title of *The Merchants and Mariners Preservation and Thanksgivng*,

The large empire of the Great Mogol is bounded on the East with the kingdom of Maiz [see p. 26] west with Persia and the ruine ocean southerly north with the mountains of Caucasus and Tartaria south with Deccan and the Gulf of Bengala. Deccan, lying in the skirts of Asia is divided between three Mahometan kings and some other Indian Rajas. This spacious monarchie called by the inhabitants Indostan, dividing it selfe into thirte and seven severall and large provinces, which anciently were particular kingdoms, whose names, with their principall cities and rivers, their situation and borders, their extent in length and breadth, I first set downe beginning at the north west.¹

First Candahor, the chiefe citie so called. It lyes from the heart of all his territories north west. It confineth with the King of Persia and was a province belonging to him. 2 Cabul the chiefe citie so called, the extremest north west part of this emperours dominions. It confineth with Tartaria. The river Nilab² hath its beginning in it whose current is southerly till it discharge it selfe in Indus. 3 Multan the chiefe citie so called. It lyes south from Cabul and Candahor and to the

¹ This list of provinces is closely related to the list given by Roe *Embassy*, p. 33, and to the map of India dated 1642, which was engraved on the same or a different tablet. In the first paragraph who was set up on the throne in which the ambassador returned to England. This Terry had his map before him was a map of the Asia was taken from the general consideration of the situation of the nations taken according to materials of the time and was from the fact that both a provincial and a more general one. The River was called the River of the River which was mentioned by Roe as one of the other names Terry was careful to keep the number of provinces the same as in Roe's list from which he also copied some of his descriptions.

The list of provinces but oughty was no far that one of the various names of the Mogul Empire. It is a fact a rough enumeration of the various states which had fallen under the sway of Akbar and his successors and his successors in part of the territory and want of proportion. The reader will find it fully described in *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the East*. Here it is only possible to give brief identifications of the more obscure names.

The map given in the 1660 edition of Terry is a poor version of Baffin's, on a reduced scale.

I properly the upper Indus, but apparently here the Kabul River is meant.

west journey with Persia. 4. Hajaean¹ the kingdom of the
 Baluchies (a stout warlike people). It hath no renowned cite.
 The famous river Indus called by the inhabitants Skand
 borders it on the east, and Lar, a province belonging to Sha-
 Abbas, the present King of Persia meets it on the west.
 5. Buckor² the chiefe cite called Buckersoor. The river
 Indus makes a way through it, greatly enriching it. 6. Tatta
 the chiefe cite so called. The river Indus makes many islands
 in it, exceeding fruitful and pleasant. The chiefe armie meets
 with the sea at Synde³ a place very famous for curious hand-
 crafts. 7. Sorot Sorath in Káthiáwar, the chiefe cite is
 called Janagar, Jánágarh. It is a little province, but rich
 lyes west from Gazarat, and hath the ocean to the south.
 8. Deshmere [Deshmēr in Rājputāna] the chiefe cite so
 called. It joyneth with Sorot Buckor, and Tatta, lying to
 the west of it. 9. Attock [Attock] the chiefe cite so called.
 It lyeth on the east side of Indus, which parts it from Hajaean.
 10. Penjab, which signifieth five waters, for that it is seated
 among five rivers, all tributaries to Indus, which somewhat
 south of Lahor make but one current. It is a great kingdom
 and most fruitful etc. Lahor the chiefe cite is well built,
 very large, populous, and rich, the chiefe cite of trade in all
 India. 11. Chishmeere [Cashmīr] the chiefe cite is called
 Stranakar [Srinagar]. The river Phat [Beas, see p. 189] passeth
 through it, and so, creeping about many hands, slides to
 Indus. 12. Banchish, the chiefe cite is called Bishur⁴. It
 lyeth east southerly from Chishmeere, from which it is divided
 by the river Indus. 13. Jengapor⁵ the chiefe cite so called.
 It lyeth upon the river Kaul, one of the five rivers that water

Banchistan, or more specifically the lower Indus, ruled by the
 governor of Hujá Khan, whose overlordship was recognised by the
 Shah of Persia.

¹ The present name the fortress of Bukkur, on the Indus. It was
 the seat of the province of Multan.

² Sirotes, i.e. Lohot, or Lahorbandar, in the 16th century.

³ Professor H. H. Wilson identified Sindh with Lohot, i.e. N.W.
 Kohistan, which was a district still farther north. Possibly
 however, he was mistaken.

⁴ Kaul, a river, it is probably Jaunpur. The Kaul, i.e. Ka-

⁵ the name of a tributary of the Ganges, but Jaunpur is on another
 tributary, the Gomti.

Perjot¹ 14 Jenba² the chiefe citie so called. It lyeth east of Penjap. 15 Delhi the chiefe citie so called. It lyeth twixt Jenba and Agra. The river Jemna (which runneth through Agra and falleth into Ganges) begins in it. Delhi is an ancient great citie the seat of the Mog. Is much store where most of them live interred. 16 Banda³ the chiefe citie so called. It lieth west of Agra on the west. 17 Malwa (Mā-wu) a very fruitfull province. Rant pore⁴ is the chiefe citie. 18 Chitor an ancient and great kingdome the chiefe citie so called. 19 Guzarat a goodly kingdome and exceeding rich enclosing the Bay of Cambaya. The river Tapte watereth Surat. It lieth to the Red Sea, to Acha, and to divers other places. 20 Chander (Chāntesh) the chiefe citie called Brampoch (Brāhāmpur) which is large and populous. Adjoining to this province is a petty prince called Partapsha (see p. 136) tributary to the Mogol. and this is the southernmost part of all his territories. 21 Herar the chiefe citie is called Shajore⁵ the southernmost part whereof doth likewise bound this empire. 22 Narwar⁶ the chiefe citie called Gehad. It is watered by a faire river which emptieth itself in Ganges. 23 Gwalhar the chiefe citie so called where the king hath a great treasury of bullion. In this citie likewise there is an exceeding strong castle wherein the kings prisoners are kept. 24 Agra, a principall and great province the chiefe citie so called. From Agra to Lahor (the two chiefe cities of this empire) is about foure hundred English miles. the countrey in all that distance even without a hill and the high way planted on both sides with trees like to a denesse walke. 25 Sambhal⁷ the chiefe citie so called. The river Jemna parts it from Narwar, and after at the cite Helabass (Alahābad) falls into Ganges, called by the inhabitants Ganga.

¹ Chamla, one of the Punjab hill states.

² Jambh district in the United Provinces south-west of the Jomna. Its thambhor seems to be derived from the Sanskrit Jambha.

³ Sandhu, about eight miles south of Bikanpur. In 1556, after the emperor had repaired the Mogul fort at Bikanpur, the Emperor Murad established his quarters there, and he was killed at Ambikote, the place given into a time of attack by the Mogols.

⁴ Narwar in modern territory of Central and Western Punjab.

⁵ Sambhal in Morarwad district, United Provinces.

26. Bakar Bikaner, in Rājputānā¹ the chief city called Bikaner. It lyeth on the west side of Gangas. 27. Nagrakutt [see p. 170] the chief city so called in which there is a chappell mount richly set forth both sealed and paved with plate of pure gold. In this place they keepe an idol which they call Matta, visited yearly by many thousands of the Indians, who out of devotion cut off part of their tongues to make a sacrifice for it.² In this province there is likewise another famous pilgrimage to a place called Jallamukae³ where out of cold springs and hard rocks there are day & to be seene incessant eruptions of fire before which the religious people fall downe and worst p. 28. Nyba⁴ the chief city is called Hardwar where the famous river Ganges seemed to begin issuing out of a rocke which the superstitious Gentiles imagine to bee like a cawes head,⁵ which of all sensible creatures they love best. Thither they likewise goe in troopes daily for to wash their bodies. 29. Kakures⁶ the principal cities are called Dinkaree (Dangūh) and Purbahā Pharwāh. It is very large and exceeding mountainous, divided from Tartaria by the mountaynes of Caucasus. It is the farthest part north under the Mogols subjection. 30. Gorgair in Benga⁷ the

¹ In *Santhi* (see p. 180) Terry substitutes river for gold and adds "most curious ceremony, for head in several figures, which they keep erecting, together by of a million and burning." *Santhi* was a rather poor house-keeper as also for his account of Jawāh Mukh and Hardwar.

² The reference is to the famous temple of Mata Devi or Durgawati Devi at Bikaner, a suburb of Bikaner. For the sacrifice of tongue see *Santhi* (see the *Santhi* p. 23 and the account given by the *Santhi* in [10] of the labours of the *Santhi* in India and a man.

³ *Santhi* Mukh the of the flaring mouth. A temple built over some jets of combustible gas, believed to be a manifestation of the goddess. *Santhi* (see p. 23) p. 23.

⁴ *Santhi* now part of the Kangra district, but formerly an independent principality. The town of this name is about 100 miles S.W. of Kangra. *Santhi* is a small village, but *Santhi* (see p. 23) and Terry (see p. 23) make up the latter the capital of the former.

⁵ The *Santhi* (see p. 23) is the glacier (river) from which the head waters arise. It is a *Santhi* (see p. 23) of the state of Jibhi.

⁶ The country of the Gakkars, in the north of the Punjab.

chiefe citie so called. It is full of mountaynes. The river Persia¹ which discharge it selfe in Ganges, begins in it. 31 Pitau² the chiefe citie so called. The river handa wateret it, and falls into Ganges in the confines thereof. 32 Kandwana³ the chiefe citie is called Karbakatenka. The river Sersaly parts it from Pitau. Thal and Gor are the north-east bounds of this great nomarie. 33 Patna [Bahār], the chiefe citie so called. The river Ganges bounds it on the west. Sersaly on the east. It is a very fertile province. 34 Jesual⁴ the chiefe citie called Rajapore [Rajpūra near Amh]. It lyeth east of Patna. 35 Meant⁵ the chiefe citie called Narnol. It is very mountaynous. 36 Idessa [Orissa] the chiefe citie called Jaganat [Jagannāth]. It is the most remote part east of all this kingdom. 37 Bengala, a most spacious and fruitfull kingdom, limited by the gulle of the same lake, wherein the river Ganges, divided in foure great currents, loseth it selfe.

And here a great error in our geographes must not escape mee, who in their globes and maps make India and China neighbours, when many large countries are interposed betwixt them, which great distance will appeare by the long travell of the Indian merchants, who are usually in their journey and returne more then two yeeres from Agra to the walls of China. The length of those forenamed provinces is, north west to south east, at the least one thousand courses, every Indian course being two English miles. North and south, the extent thereof is about fourteene hundred miles, the southernmost part lying in twentie degrees, the northernmost in forty three of north latitude⁶. The breadth of this empire is, north east to south west, about fiftene hundred miles.

Now to give an exact account of all those forenamed

As shewen by Radin's map, this is an error for 'Sersaly' [i. e. the Sarawati], as under no. 32.

¹ Persia, or Patankot, in Kangra. The Gandak river runs nowhere near it.

² Kandwana in the centre provinces. It is absurdly misplaced in the text. Karbakatenka is Garbhakāśa, but near Jaipur.

³ Jesual, or Husharpur east of Patna.

⁴ Meant, viz. to the south of Delhi. Narnol was its chief town.

⁵ This is quite wrong, but as is following Radin's map.

provinces were more than I am able to undertake, yet out of that I have observed in some few I will adventure to guess at all, and thank for my particular that the Great Mogul considering his territories his wealth and his rich commodities is the greatest known king of the East if not of the world To make my own conjecture more apparent to others This wide monarchie is very rich and fertile so much abounding in all necessaries for the use of man as that it is able to sustain and maintain it selfe without the least helpe from any neighbour To speake first of that which nature requires most food This land abounds in singular good wheate, rice, barley, and divers other kinds of graine to make bread (the staffe of life) Their wheate grows like ours, but the grain if it is somewhat bigger and more white of which the inhabitants make such pure well relished bread that I may speake that of it what our saide of taw bread in the Bishoprick of Legos it is *panis pane mense* The common people make their bread up in cakes and bake it on small iron hearths which they carry with them when as they journey making use of them in their tents It should seeme an ancient custome as it is appeare by that president of Sarah when shee entertained *in amicus Genes* 161 To their bread they have great abundance of other good provision as butter and cheere by reason of their great number of kine, sheepe, and goats Besides they have a beast very large having a smooth thicke skaine without haire called a bufflo, which gives good milke The flesh of them is like beef but not so wholesome They have no want of venison of divers kinds as red deere, fallow, leare, chize, and ante up, but nowhere unparked The whole kingdom is what were a forest for a man can travell ne way but he shall see them, and except it bee within a small distance off the kingdome are every mans game To these they have great store of hares, and further to fresh out their forests, variety of fish and fowle It were as infinite as needlesse to relate particulars To write of their geese, duckes, pigeons, partridges, quails, peacocks, and many other singular good fowle and which are bought at such easie rates as that I have seenne a peacock sold for a penny, would for the

A supper being in the pargon of the present day

what like to an English colewort) where they make incisions under which they hang small earthen pots to preserve the influence. That which distils forth in the night is as pleasing to the taste as any white wine if drunke betimes in the evening but in the heat of the day the same alters it so as that it bees new ready ill relished and unwholesome. It is a pleasing medicinal drinke if taken early and moderately as some have found by happy experience thereby eased from their torture induced by that shame of physicians and tyrant of all maladies, the stone.

At Surat and to Agra and beyond it never raines but one season of the yeere which begins more the time that the sunne comes to the Northern Tropique and so continues till his returne backe to the Line. These violent raines are ushered in and take their leave with most fearefull tempests of thunder and lightning more terrible then I can expresse yet seldom doe harme. The reason in Nature may be the subtiltie of the aere wherein there are fewer thunderstones made then in such climates where the aere is grosser and crasser. In these three monthes it raines every day more or less, sometimes one whole quarter of the moone season with any intermission which abundance of raie with the heat of the sunne doth so enrich the ground (which they never loose) as that like Egypt by the inundation of Nilos it makes it fruitful all the yeere after. But when this time of raie is passed over, the ake is so cleere as that scarcely one cloud is scene in their hemisphere the nine monthes after. And here the goodness of the soyle must not escape my pen most apparant it is to see for when the ground hath bene destitute of raie nine monthes and lookes like to barren sands, with a seven dayes after the raie begins to fall it puts on a greene coate. And further to confirme this, amongst many hundred acres of corne I have beeheld in those parts, I never saw any but came up as thicke as the land could well beare it. They till their ground with oxen and foot-ploughs. Their seed time is in May and the beginning of June their harvest in November and December the most temperate monthes in all their yeere. Their ground is not enclosed, unless it be where townes and villages, which (though not

¹ I. e. that which flows in.

expressed in the map for want of fair true names stand very thick. They mow not their grass (as we) to make hay but cut it either green or withered or the ground as they have occasion to use it. They sow tobacco in abundance but know not how to cure and make it strong as those in the Western India [i.e. the West Indies]

The country is beautified with many woods and great variety of fair goodly trees but I never saw any there of those kinds which England affords. Their trees in generall are supple which I ascribe to the fatnesse of the soyle. Some of them have leaves as broad as bucklers others are parted small as ferns as the tamarine trees which beare a sweet fruit that grows somewhat like our lemons most wholesome for to cool and cleanse the blood. There is one tree amongst them of speccall observation out of whose branches grow little sprigs downward till they take root and so at length grow strong supporters unto the others that yeeld them whence it comes to passe that these trees in time grow up to a great height and extend themselves to an incredible breadth. All the trees in those southerne parts of India still keepe on their greene mantles. For their flowres they rather delight the eye then affect the sense; in colour admirable but few of them unless roses and one or two kinds more that are any whit fragrant.

This region is watered with many goodly rivers. The two principall are Indus and Ganges. Where this thing remarkable must not passe that one parte of the water of Ganges weigheth lesse by an ounce then any in the whole kingdom^e and therefore the Mogol, wheresoever hee is hath it brought to him that he may drinke it². Besides their rivers they have store of wells fed with springs, upon which in many places they beat w great cost in stone worke. To these they have many ponds which

Verbalize to say this is the flam or incantation free

* The United States is known for saying that a quart of oil glaze
by much than an quart water. (200)

The fish are caught by the water is brought to the bank in an
copper, and a net is set in the river and caught up when the
are delivered to the water-bearer for the king and the other
farmers and carries, hanging upon strings of twine for the porter and others.

they call tankes some of them more then a mile or two in compasse made round or square, gilt about with faire stone walls, within which are steps of well squared stone which encompass the water for men every way to goe downe and take it. These tankes are filled when that abundance of raine falls, and keepe water to redrewe the necessitie that dwell farre from springs or rivers till that wet season come againe. This ancient drinke of the world is the common drinke of India. It is more sweet and pleasant then ours, and in those hot countries agreeth better with mens bodies then any other liquor. Some small quantitie of wine (but not commonly) is made among them. They call it Hunk (arrack) distilled from sugar and a spicie rinde of a tree called Jugar.¹ It is very wholsome if taken moderately. Many of the people who are strict in their religion drinke no wine at all. They use a liquor more healthful then pleasant they call Cohue [coffee. Arabic kahwa] a blacke seed boyled in water which doth little alter the taste of the water. Notwithstanding it is very good to helpe digestion, to quench the spirits, and to cleanse the blood. There is yet another helpe to comfort the stomacke for such as forbear wine, an herbe called Bettle or Panna [see p. 148]. It is in shape somewhat like an ivy leafe, but more tender. They chew it with a hard nut some what like a nutmegge and a litle pure white are among the leaves, and when they have sucked out the juce, put forth the rest. It hath many rare qualities, for it preserves the teeth, comforts the braine, strengthens the stomacke, and cures or prevents a tainted breath.

Their buildings are generally base except it be in their cities, wherein I have observed many faire palles. Many of their houses are built high and flat on the toppe from whence in the coole seasons of the day they take in fresh ayre. They have no chimnies to their houses, for they never use fire but to dress their meate. In their upper rooms they have many lights and doores to let in the ayre, but use no glass. The materials of their best buildings are bricke or stone, well squared and composed, which I have observed in Amadnavir

¹ Jugar is a coarse sugar made from the sap (not the rind) of various palms (see p. 13).

(that one instance may stand for all), which is a most spacious and rich citie, entred by twelve faire gates, and compassed about with a thicke stone wall. Both in their villages and cities are usually many faire trees among their houses, which are a great defence against the violence of the sunne. They commonly stand so thicke that if a man behold a citie or towne from some compassed place it will seeme a wood rather than a citie.

The staple commodities of this kingdom are indur¹ and cotton-wool. For cotton-wool they plant seedes which grow up into shrubs like unto our rose-bushes. It blowes first into a yellow blossome, which falling off, there remaines a rod about the bignesse of a mans thumbe, in which the substance is moist and venow, but, as it ripens, it swells bigger till it breake the covering, and so in short time becomes white as snow, and then they gather it. These shrubs beare three or foure yeeres ere they suppland them. Of this wool they make diuers sorts of pure white cloth, some of which I haue seene as fine if not purer then our best lawne. Some of the coarser sort of it they dye into colours, or else stayne in it varietie of curious figures.

The ship that usually goeth from Surat to Moha [Mokha] is of exceeding great burthen. Some of them I beleeve, at the least fourtene or sixtene hundred tonnes, but ill-built and though they have good ordnance, cannot well defend themselves. In these ships are verely abundance of passengers. For instance, in one ship returning thence, that yeere we left India, came seventene hundred, the most of which number goe not for profit but out of devotion to visite the sepulchre of Mahomet at Medina, nere Meche, about one hundred and fiftie leagues from Moha. Those which have bene there are ever after called Hoggens [Haji] or holy men. The ship bound from Surat to the Red Sea beghines her voyage about the twentieth of March, and finisheth it towards the end of September following. The voyage is but short and might

¹ Purchas misread Terry's account of indur culture referring the reader instead to *Spices and their uses* p. 7. The correct portion will be found in the 1866 edition (p. 143, but it scarcely merits quotation here.

early bee made in two months, but in the long season of rain and a little before and after: the winds are commonly so violent that there is no coming, but with great hazard into the Indian Sea. The ship returning is usually worth two hundred thousand pounds sterling most of it in gold and silver. Besides, for what quantity of musles comes out of Europe by other means into India, I cannot answer; this I am sure of that many silver streamers runneth thither, as all rivers to the sea, and there stay it being lawful for any nation to bring in silver and fetch commodities but a crime not less than capitall to carry any great summe thence. The coyne or ballion brought in there is presently melted and refined and then the Mogul's stamp (which is his name and title in Persian letters) put upon it. This coyne is more pure then any I know made of perfect silver without any alloy so that in the Spanish coin (the purest money of Europe) there is some loss. They call their pieces of money *roupers*, of which there are some of divers values: the bestest worth two shillings¹ and the best about two shillings and nine pence sterling. By these they reckon their estates and payments. There is a coyne of inferiour value in Guzarat called *manmothes* (see p. 77) about twelve pence sterling. Both the former and these are made likewise in halves and quarters² so that there pence is the least piece of silver current in the country³. That which passeth up and downe for exchange under this rate is brasse⁴ money, which they call *pers*: whereof three or thereabouts countervaile a penny. They are made so massie as that the brasse in them, put to other uses, is well worth the silver they are rated at. Their silver coyne is made either round or square, but so thicke that it never breakes nor weares out⁵.

Now farther for commodities the country yields good store of silke, which they weave curiously, sometimes mingled with silver or gold. They make veivets, satins, and tullesters, but not so rich as those of Italy. Many drugs and gummes are

¹ This is amended in the 1855 edition to 2s. 3d.

² 'Some few in quarters' (1855 edition).

And very few of them to be seen' *ibid.*

³ Oropper *ibid.*

⁴ They have pure gold coins likewise, some pieces of great value, but these are not very commonly seen amongst them (1655 edition).

found amongst them especially gum-lac with which they make their hard wax. The earth yee ds good minerals of lead, iron, copper and brass, and they say of silver, which if true they neede not open being so enriched by other nations. The spices they have come from other places from the islands of Sumatra, Java and the Molucces. For places of pleasure they have curious gardens, planted with fruitfull trees and delightful flowers, to which Nature daily lends such a supply as hat they seeme never to fade. In these places they have pleasant fountaynes to bathe in and other delights by sundrie conveyances of water, whose silent manie are heape to lay their senses with the bonds of sleepe in the hot seasons of the day.

But lest this remote countrey should seeme like an earthly Paradise without any discomforts, I must needs take notice there of many lions, tigers, wolves, jackals (which seeme to be wild dogs) and many other harmful beasts. In these rivers are many crocodiles, and on the land over-grower snakes, with other venomous and pernicious creatures. In our houses there we often meeet with scorpions, whose stinging is most sensible and deadly if the patient have not presently some oyle that is made of them to anoint the part affected, which is a present cure. The abundance of flies in those parts doe likewise much annoy us, for in the heate of the day their numberlesse number is such as that we can be quiet in no place for them. They are ready to cover our meate as soon as it is placed on the table, and therefore we have men that stand on purpose with napkins to fright them away when as we are eating. In the night likewise we are much disquieted with musquitos, like our gnats but somewhat lesse.¹ And in their great cities there are such abundance of bigger hungry rats that they often bite a man as he lyeth on his bed.

The winds in these parts, which they call the Monsoon, blow constantly, altering but few points, sixe moneths southerly, the other sixe northerly. The moneths of Aprill and May, and the beginning of June till the maye fall are so extreme hot as that the wind blowing but gently receives such heate from the parched ground that it much offends those that receive

¹ The *Itinerarium* adds that churches (i. e. bags) were a further nuisance.

the breath of it. But God doth so provide for those parts that most commonly he sends such a strong gale as well tempereth the hot ayre. Sometimes the winde blowes very high in these hot and drie seasons, raising up thick clouds of dust and sand, which appeare like darke clouds full of rayne. They greatly annoy the people when they fall amongst them. But there is no entrey without some discomforts, for therefore the wise Disposer of all things hath tempered bitter things with sweet, to teach man that there is no true and perfect content to be found in any kingdom but that of God.

That I will retorne againe whence I digressed, and looke further into the qualitie of the countrey. that affords very good horses, which the inhabitants know well to manage. Besides their owne, they have many of the Persian, Tartarian, and Arabian breede, which have the name to be the choise ones of the world. They are about the bignesse of ours, and valued among them as ours, if not at a higher rate then we usually esteeme ours. They are kept duntay, every good horse being allowed a man to dresse and feede him. Their provender a kind of graine called *Danna* [*Dana* graine] some what like our pease, which they boyle, and when it is cold, give them mingled with course sugar. and twice or thrise in the weeke butter to scoure their bodies. Here are likewise a great number of camels, dromedaries, mules, asses, and some rhynocerats, which are large beasts as bigge as the sayrest oxen England affords, their skins lye platted, or as it were in wrinkles upon their backs. They have many elephants, the King for his owne partie far being master of fourteen thousand, and his nobles and all men of qualitie in the countrey have more or lesse of them, some to the number of one hundred. The elephants though they bee the largest of all creatures the earth brings forth, yet are so tractable (unlesse at times when they are roud) that a little boy is able to rule the biggest of them. Some of them I have seene thirteene foot high, but there are amongst them (as I have heere often told) fiftene at the least. The colour of them all is black, their skins thick and smooth without haire. They take much delight to bathe themselves in water, and swim better then any beast I know. They lye downe and arise againe at pleasure, as other

beasts doe. Their pace is not swift about three mile an hours, but of all beasts in the world are most sure of foot, for they never fall nor stumble to endanger their rider. They are most dumb creatures and of all those we account merely sensible, come nearest unto reason. Lipsius¹ in his *Epistula* (1 Cent. Epist. 50) out of his observations from others writes more of them then I can confine, or any (I perswade my selfe) beleave; yet many things remarkable, which seems indeed acts of reason rather then sense, I have observed in them. For instance, an elephant will doe any thing almost that his keeper commands him. As, if he would have him affright a man, he will make towards him as if hee would tread him in pieces, and when he is come at him, doe him no hurt; if he would have him to abuse or disgrace a man, he will take dirt or kennell water in his trunk and dash it on his face. Their trunks are long gracefully wound hanging downe twist their teeth by some called their hand, which they make use of upon all occasions.

An English merchant of good credit upon his owne know edge reported this of a great elephant in Adameere (the place then of the Magdalen residence), who being brought often through the bazar or market place, a woman who sat there to sell herbs was wont usually to give him a bunafall as he passed by. The elephant afterward being made brake his fetters and tooke his way through the market place. The people all affrighted, made haste to secure themselves, and next whom was this herbe-woman who for feare and haste forgot her little child. The elephant, come to the place where shee usually sat, stoode, and seeing a child lie about her herbs, took it up gently with his trunk, not doing at the least harme, and layed it upon a staffe in for a house not farre off, and then proceeded in his furious course. Anstus a traveling Jesuite relates the like of an elephant in Gou. from his owne experience.² Some elephants the King keeps for execution of malefactors: who being brought to suffer death by that mightie beast, if his keeper bid him dispatch the offender speedily will presently with his foot push him into pieces; if otherwise he would

¹ Justus Lipsius (Joest Lips), the Dutch humanist, 1547-1606.

² See Christopher, Arosata a *Proclodo de las Drogas y Medicinas de las Indias Orientales* (Burgos, 1578), p. 417.

have him tortured this vast creature will breake his joynts by degrees one after the other, as men are broken upon the wheele.

The Mogol takes much delight in those stately creatures, and therefore oft when hee sits forth in his majesty runs for them, specially the fairest who are taught to bend to him as it were in reverence, when they first come into his presence. They often fight before him beginning their combat like rams by running fiercely one at the other after, as boares with their tusks they fight with their teeth and trunks. In this violent opposition they are each so carefull to preserve his ruler as that very few of them at those times receive hurt. They are governed with an hook of Steele, made like the iron end of a boat hook, with which their keepers, sitting on their neckes, put them back or pricke them forward at their pleasure. The king traines up many of his elephants for the warre, who carrie each of them one iron gunne about sixe foot long lying upon a square strong frame of wood, fastned with girts or ropes upon him, which like an harquebuse is set into the timber with a hoop of iron. At the foure corners of this frame are banners of silke put upon short poles, within sits a gunner to make his shot according to his occasion. The peece carrieth a bullet about the bignesse of a little tennis-ball. When the king travels, he hath many elephants thus appointed for guard. Hee keeps many of them for state to goe before him, who are adorned with bosses of brasse, and some of them are made of massie silver or gold having likewise divers bells about them in which they delight. They have furre coverings, either of cloth or velvet or cloth of silver or gold and for greater state banners of silke carried before them in which is the ensigne of their great king (a lion in the sunne) imprinted. These are allowed each three or foure men at the least to waite upon them. Hee makes use of others to carrie himselfe or his women, who sit in pretie convenient receptacles fastned on their backs (which our painters describe like to castles), made of slight turned pillars richly covered, that will hold seare sitters. Others he employes for carriage of his necessaries.

² See *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, vol. ii. p. 363.

Onely he hath one faire elephant, which is content to be fettered, but would never indure man or other burthen on his backe.

These vast beasts, though the countrey be very fruitfull and all provision cheape yet by reason of their huge bulke are very chargeable in keeping, for such as are well fed stand their masters in foure or five shillings each of them the day. They are kept without doores, where by a solid chaine upon one of their hind legges they fasten them to a tree or some strong post. As they stand in the sunne, the flies often vex them wherefore with their feete they make dust the ground being very dry, and with their truncks cast it about their bodies to drive away the flies. Whennas they are mad (as usually the males are once a yeare for their females, when they are lustie, but in few dayes after come againe in temper), they are so mischevous that they will stelde any thing (but their keeper) that comes in their way, and their strength is such as that they will beate an horse or cumell dead with their truncke at one blow. At these times, to prevent mischief, they are kept apart from company fettered with chains. But if by chance in their phrensie they get loose, they will make after every thing they see stirre, in which case there is no meanes to stop them in their violent course but by lighting of wild fire, prepared for that purpose, whose sparkling and cracking makes them stand still and tremble. The King allowes every one of his great elephants foure females, which in tacit language they call wives. The males teetkles lye about his fore-head, the females teetes are betwixt her fore legges. Shee carrieth her young one whole yeare ere she bring it forth. Thirtie yeares exare ere they come to their full growth and they fulfill the accustomed age of man ere they dye. Notwithstanding the great plentie of them, they are valued there at exceeding great rates some of them prized at one thousand pounds sterling and more.

Now, for the inhabitants of Indostan, they were anciently Gentiles, or notorious idolaters, called in generall Hundoos, but ever since they were subdued by Tamberlaine, have beene mixed with Mahometans. There are besides many Persians and Tartars, many Abissines and Armenians, and some few

almost of every people in Asia,* if not of Europe, that have residence here. Amongst them are some Jews, but not heaved for their very name is a proverb or word of reproach. For the stature of these Eastern Indians they are like us, but generally very straight for I never beheld any in those parts crooked. They are of a tawne or olive colour, their haire blacke as a raven, but not curld. They love not a man or woman that is very white or faire, because that (as they say) is the colour of lepers (common amongst them). Most of the Mahometans, but the Moolas (which are their priests) or those that are very old and rettyred, keepe their channes bare, but suffer the haire on their upper lip to grow as long as Nature will feed it.[†] They usually shave off all the haire from their heads, reserving onely a locke on the crowne for Mahomet to put them into Heaven. Both among the Mahometans and Gentiles are excellent barbers. The people often wash their bodies, and anoint themselves with sweet-oyle.

The habits both of the men and women are little different, made for the most part of white cotton cloth. For the fashion they are close straight to the middle, hanging loose downward below the knee. They wear long breeches underneath, made close to their bodies, that reach to their ankles, ruffling like boots in the small of their legs. Their feet are bare in their shoes, which most commonly they wear like slippers, that they may the more readily put them off when they come into their houses, whose floors are covered with excellent carpets (made in that kingdom, good as any in Turkie or Persia) or somewhat else (according to the qualitie of the man) more base, upon which they sit, when as they confere or eat, like tapers on their shop-boards. The mens heads are covered with a long thinne wreath of cloth, white or coloured, which goes many times about them: they call it a slash. They uncover not their heads when as they doe reverence to their superiours, but instead of that bow their bodies, putting their right hands to the top of their heads, after that they have touched the earth.

In the later edition Terry avers that he saw some Chinese and Japanese.

* The 1833 edition says that the hair is kept black by combing it continually with black lead combs.

with them, as much as to say the partie they salute shall, if he please, tread upon them. Those that bee equals take one the other by the chinne or beards as Jobb did Amos (2 Sam. 20), but salute in love not treacherie. They have good words to express their wel-wishes, as this *terech-a Nemuz* that is *I wish the prayers of the poore*,¹ and many other like these most significant.

The Muscovetan women except they bee dishonest or poore, come not abroad. They are very well favoured, though not faire; their heads covered with veils. Their haires hang down behind them twisted with silke. Those of quantie are bedecked with many jewels about their neckes and wrists. Round about their eares are haire made for pendants and every woman hath one of her nostrils pierced that there when as shee please shee may weare a ring. It shoulde seeme an ancient ornament (*Exodus* 21). The women in those parts have a great happinesse above all I know in their ease bringing forth of children; for it is a thing common there for women great with childe one day to ride carrying their infants in their bodies, the next day to ride againe, carrying them in their armes.

For the language of this empire I meane the vulgar it is called Indostan, a smooth tongue and easie to be pronounced, which they write as wee to the right hand.² The learned tongues are Persian and Arabian which they write backward, as the Hebrewes to the left. There is little learning among them, a reason wherof may be their penury of bookes which are but few and they manuscripts. But doubtlesse they are men of strong capacities, and were there literature among them would be the authors of many excellent workes. They have heard of Aristotle (whom they call *Aphis*) and have some

¹ The phrase is really a form of address: *harsh namah* 'may my rate be the poor'. See further below, p. 310, and that Terry has confused names with words, p. 310.

² I must apologise by letters which are very much different from those employed by us in the Persian and Arabian languages are written in the direction of 1292. There is nothing at all in the Hindi or Gujarati, written in the same manner.

³ Possibly Terry has heard him referred to as *al-fairif* i.e. the philosopher.

of his bookes translated into Arabian. Avicenna, that noble physician, was borne in Samarcandia the countrey of Tamerlane, in whose science they have good skill. The common diseases of the countrey are bloudie fluxes, hot fevers and calentures in all which they prescribe fasting as a principall remedie. That filthy disease the consequence of incontinencie is common amongst them. The people in generall live about our ages, but they have more old men. They delight much in musicke and have many stringed and wind instruments, which never seemed in my eare to bee any thing but discord. They write many wittie poems, and compose stories or annals of their owne countrey and professe themselves to have good skill in astrology. And in men of that profession the king puts so much confidence that hee will not undertake a journey nor yet doe any thing of the least consequence, unless his wizards tell him tis a good and prosperous houre.

The Gentiles beginne their yeare the first of March. The Mahometans thinke at the very instant (as the astrologers ghesse) that the sunne enters into Aries. From which time the king keepe a feast that is called the Noorus, signifying *nine dayes*, which time it continues (like that Ahasuerus made in the third yeare of his raigne. *Ester* the first), where all his nobles assemble in their greatest pompe, presenting him with gifts, hee repaying them againe with princely rewards, at which time being in his presence I beheld most immense and incredible riches to my amazement in gold, pearles, precious stones, jewels, and many other glittering vanities. This feast I tooke notice of at Mandoa [Mādu], where the Mogol hath a most spacious house, larger then any I have seene in which many excellent arches and vaults speake for the exquisite skill of his subjects in architecture. At Agra hee hath a palace wherein two large towers, the least ten foot square, are covered with plate of the purest gold.¹

There are no hangings on the walls of his houses, by reason

¹ See p. 1. Terry's explanation of the term is of course wrong, he has confused *ash* in *ash* with *ash* in *ash*.

² In the *best* edition Terry writes *ash* as I had from Tom Coriat, as from other English merchants who kept in a factory at that place.

of the house, the walls are either painted or else beautified with a purer white lime than that we call Spanish. The floors, paved with stone or else made with lime and sand, like our playster of Paris, are spread with rich carpets. There lodge none in the Kings house but his women and eunuchs and some little boys which hee keeps about him for a wicked use. Hee awaies eates in private among his women upon great variety of excellent dishes, which dressed and proved by the taste are served in vessels of gold (as they say), covered and sealed up, and so by eunuchs brought to the King. He hath meate ready at all houres, and calls for it at pleasure. They feede not freely on full dishes of beefe and mutton, (as we), but much on rice boyled with pieces of flesh or dressed many other wayes. They have not many roast or baked meate, but stew most of their flesh. Among many dishes of this kinde Ie take notice but of one they call *Deu Pario*¹ made of venison cut in slices, to which they put onions and herbs, some rootes, with a little spice and butter. The most savorie meate I ever tasten, and doe almost thinke it that very dish which Jacob made ready for his father, when he got the blessing.

In this kingdome there are no innes to entertaine strangers. Once in great townes and cities are faire houses built for their receit (which they call *Sarray*), not inhabited, where any passengers may have roomes freely, but must bring with him his bedding, his cooke, and other necessaries wherein to dresse his meate, which are usually carried on camels, or else in carts drawne with oxen, wherein they have tents to pitch when they meete with no *Sarras*. The inferior sort of people ride on oxen, horses, mules, camels, or dromedaries (the women like the men), or else in eight coaches with two wheelles, covered on the top and backe, but the fore part and sides open, unless they carrie women. They will conveniently hold two persons beside the driver. They are drawne by oxen, one yoke in a coach, rated for colour, but many of them are white, not very large. They are guided with cords, which goe through the parting of their nostrils and so twist their horns into the coach-mans hand. They dresse and keepe them clothed as

¹ This seems to be meant for *doppā* or *dupgānāh*, for which see the *Asi*, vol. i, p. 60.

their horses. They are naturally nimble to which use makes them so fitting to perform that labour as that they will goe twentie miles a day or more with good speed. The better sort ride on elephants, or else are carried upon mens shoulders & one in a sight thing they call a palankee (palanquin) which is like a couch or standing padat, but covered with a canopie. This should seeme an ancient effeminate sometimes used in Rome, Juvenal¹ thus describing a fat lawyer that fill a one of them *Candidi novicumventi lecto Mithonis pueri opso*.

For pastimes they delight in hawking, hunting of hares, deer, or wilde beasts. Their dogs for chase are made somewhat like our gray hounds, but much lesse. they open not² in the pursuit of the game. They hunt likewise with leopards, which by leaping assew on that they pursue. They have a cunning device to take wild fowle, where a fellow goes into the water with a fowle of that kind he desires to catch, whose skanne is stuffed so artfully as that it appeares alive. He keeps a his body but the feet under water, on which he laves this counterfeit. thus coming among them, plucks them by the legs under water³. They shoote for pastime much in bowes, which are made curiously in the country of buffones horns, glued together, to which they have arrowes made of little canes, excellently headed and feathered. In these they are so skilfull that they will kill birds flying. Others take delight in managing their horses on which they ride, or else are otherwise carried, though they have not one quarter of a mile to goe. the men of quality holding it dishonorable to goe on foote.

In their houses they play much at that most ingenious game we call chess, or else at tables⁴. They have carres, but quite different from ours. Sometimes they make themselves merry

In his first satire, adds the 1655 edition, where the following translation is given:

¹ Maeco the pleader comes in his new chaire,
Laid with himself when he takes the air.

² Do not give tongue.

³ This practice is ascribed in the *Asiæ*, vol. i. p. 290¹, also by Crivington (*Voyage to Suratt*, p. 274).

⁴ The word *Paigani* is now for *paganism*. The Indian *paigani* also were referred to by the *paigani* and *paigani* is described in the *Asiæ*, vol. i. p. 290¹. A group of *paigani* carriages is described in the *Asiæ*, vol. i. p. 290¹.

with cunning jugglers or mountebanks, who will suffer snakes they keepe in baskets to bite them and presently cure the swelling with powders, or else they see the trickes of apes and monkeyes.

In the southerne parts of Indostan are great store of large white apes, some I dare boldly say, as tall as our biggest gray-hounds. They are fearefull (as it should seeme) to birds that make their nests in trees, wherefore Nature hath taught them this subtiltie, to secure themselves by building their little houses on the twigs of the utmost boughs, there hanging like purse nets, to which the apes cannot possibly come.

Every great towne or citie of India hath markets twice a day in the coole season presently after the sunne is risen and a little before his setting. They sell almost every thing by weight. In the heate of the day they keepe their houses where the men of better fashion, lying on couches or sitting on their carpets, have servants stand about them who, beating the ayre with broad fannes of stiffe leather or the like make wind to coole them. And taking thus their ease they often call their barbers, who tenderly gripe and scute their armes and other parts of their bodies, instead of exercise, to stirre the blood. It is a pleasing wantonnesse and much used in those hot climes.

I must needs commend the Malumetans and Gentiles for their good and faithfull service amongst whom a stranger may travel alone with a great charge of money or goods, quite through the countrey and take them for his guard, yet never bee neglected or injured by them. They follow their masters on foote, carrying swords and buckers or bowes and arrowes for their defence and by reason of great plentie of provision in that kingdome a man may hire them upon easie conditions, for they will not desire above five shillings the moone, paid the next day after the charge (*Quibus hinc ingu, calceus hinc est, et panis famusque domus*¹). to provide themselves all necessaries and for it doe most diligent service. Such

¹ He is describing the nest of the weaver bird.

Another quotation from *Javennas Satires*. The 1650 edition translates the passage thus:

The ~~weaver~~ ^{bird} their shoes when breed their care,
And all besides, enough whereof have.

is their pride to their parents that those which have no greater means will impart haile of it at the least to relieve their necessities, choosing rather for to famish themselves then to see them want.

There are both among the Mahumetans and Gentiles men of undaunted courage. Those of note among the Mahumetans are called Halochra,¹ inhabiting Hapacan, adjoining to the kingdom of Persia, or else Putana taking their denomination from a province in the kingdom of Bengala.² These will look on an enemy boldly in the face and maintain with their lives their reputation of valour. Among the many sects of Gentiles there is but one race of fighters, called Hashbootes, a number of which live by spoyle, who in troops surprize poor passengers, cruelly butchering those they get under their power. Those excepted, all the rest in the countrey are in general pusillanimous and had rather quarrel then fight having such poore spirits in respect of us Christians that the Mogor is pleased often to use this proverb: that one Portugall will beate three of them and one English-man three Portugalls.

Touching their munition for the warre they have good ordnance made (for ought I could gather) very anciently in those parts. Iron peeces carried upon elephants (before described), and lesser gunnes made for foot men who are somewhat long in taking their ayne, but come as neere the marke as any I ever saw. They fire all their peeces with match. As for gun powder they make very good. They use lances and swords and targets, shields, bowes and arrows. Their swords are made crooked like a fauchion, very sharpe, but for want of skil in those that temper them will breake rather then bend and therefore wee often sell our sword blades at high prices that wil bow and become straight againe, I have seene horse men there who have carried whole armories about them, thus appointed: at their sides good swords, under them sheaves of arrowes: on their shoulders bucklers, and upon their backs guns fastned with belts: at the left side bowes hanging in cases, and lances about two yards and a halfe

¹ The Halochra were mentioned as a very Northern and Western Indian owing to the general use of their camels for the transportation of goods.

² This is, of course, a mistake.

long (having excellent Steele heads), which they carry in their hands. Yet for all this harness, the most of them dare not resist a man of courage, though he have for his defence but the worst of those weapons. The armies in those eastern wars oftentimes consist of incredible multitudes: they talk of some which have exceeded that mighty host which Zerah, King of Ethiopia brought against Asa (2 Chron 14). The musick they have when they go to battell is from little-drums and long wind instruments. The armies on both sides usually beginne with most furious onsets, but in short time, for want of good discipline, one side is routed and the controversy, without much slaughter, decided.

The Mahometans have faire churches which they call Mesquits, built of stone. The broad side towards the west is made up close, like a wall: that towards the east is erected on pillars: so that the length of them is north and south, which way they burie their dead. At the corners of their great churches which stand in cities are high places, to whose tops the Moolas ascend certain times of the day and proclaim their prophet Mahomet thus in Arabian: *La Alla illa Alla Mahomet Resul-Alla*:¹ that is, No God but one God, and Mahomet the ambassadour of God. Thus in stead of bells (which they endure not in their temples) put the most religious in minde of their devotion. Which words Master Corvat often hearing in Agra, upon a certaine time got up into a turret, over against the priest, and contradicted him thus in a loud voice: *La Alla, illa Alla, Ho-aret-Eesa Ebn-Alla*:² No God but one God, and Christ the Sonne of God: and further added that Mahomet was an impostor: which bold attempt in many other places of Asia, where Muhomet is more zealously professed, had forfeited his life with as much torture as tyrannic could invent. But here every man hath libertie to professe his owne religion freely and, for any restriction I ever observed, to dispute against theirs with impunity.

Now concerning their burials: Every Mahometan of quantie in his life time provides a faire sepulcher for himselfe and

¹ The proper form is *La illa illa-lah, Muhammadu Rasulu-lah*.

² *Hazrat Isā Ibn Allāh*.

kindred, encompassing with a firme wall a good circuit of ground, neere some tankes (about which they delight for to burie their dead) or else in a place nigh springs of water that may make pleasant fontaynes, neere which hee erects a tombe round or square, vaulted upon pillars, or else made case, to be entred with doores under which are the bodies of the dead interred. The rest of the ground they plant with trees and flowers, as if they would make Elysian fields such as the poets dreamed of, wherein their soules might take their repose. They burie not within their churches. There are many goodly monuments of this kinde richly adorned, built to the memorie of such as they have esteemed saints, of which they have a large kalender. In these are lamps continually burning whither men transported with blinde devotion day resort, there to contemplate the happiness these *Pieres* [see p. 180] (for so they call them) enjoy. But among many faire places there dedicated to this use, the most excellent is at Secantra, a village three miles from Agra. It was begonne by Acanbar-sha, this Kings father who there lyes buried, and finished by this present King who meanes to lye beside him.

Their Moolans imploy much of their time like serveners, to doe businesse for others. They have libertie to marrie as well as the people from whom they are not distinguished in habite. Some live retired, that spend their dayes in meditation or else in giving good counsaill presently unto others. These are of high esteeme, and so are another sort called *Senyds* [see p. 171], who derive themselves from Mahomet. The priests doe neither reade nor preach in their churches, ¹ but there is a set forme of prayer in the Arabian tongue not understood by most of the common people, yet repeated by them as well as by the Moolans. They likewise rehearse the names of God and Mahomet certayne times every day upon beads like the Masse and Pny st, who seemes to regard the number rather

* In the 1644 edition this statement is corrected to one that the Moolans "draw out of the word of God such things as they will, as the Sabbath or day of rest, unto the people as well as the lawe of marriage, buriall, and this further likewise some precepts which they galat out of it, into their miserably deluded hearers."

then the weight of prayers. Before they goe into their churches they wash their feet, and entering in put off their shoes. And they be gonne their day it ens. they stop their eares and close their eyes, that nothing may divert their thoughts. Then in a soft and still voyce they utter their prayers wherein are many words most significantly expressing the omnipotence, greatnesse eternitie and other attributes of God many words full of humiliation, confessing with divers submissivve gestures their owne unworthinesse, when they pray, casting themselves low upon their faces sundrie times, and then acknowledge that they are burthens to the earth and poison to the aere, and the like, and therefore care not so much as looke up to heaven, but at last comfort themselves in the mercies of God through the mediation of Mahomet. And many amongst them (to the shame of us Christians, what impediment soever they have, either by pleasure or paine) pray five times every day at six, nine, twelve, three, and six of the clock. But, by the way, they distinguish their time in a different manner from us, dividing the day into foure and the night into as many parts, which they call Pores [*pahar*]. These are againe subdivided each into eight parts which they call Grees [*ghari*], measured according to the ancient custome by water dropping out of one little vessell into another, by which there alwayes stand servants appointed for that purpose¹ sauting with an hammer a concave peece of pure metall, like the inner part of an ordinarie paillet, hanging by the brim on a wyre, the number of Grees and Pores as they passe.

For the temperance of many both among the Mahometans and Gentiles, it is such as that they will rather sit like the mother and her seven sonnes (2 *Mac cubes* 7) then eate or drinke any thing their law forbids. Such a teate and drinke as their law allowes they use onely to satisfie nature, not appetite, hating gluttonie and esteeming drunkennesse (as indeed it is) a second madnessse and therefore have but one word in their language *mest*, for a drunkard and a mad man.² They keepe a solenne Lent, which they call the *Ram Jan*,

¹ To turn that vessel up again when it is all dropped out, and then to strike*, &c. (1656 edition).

² This is an overstatement, though *mest* has a wide connotation

about the month of August,¹ which continues one whole moon, during which time those that live strict in their religion forbear their women, and will take neither meat nor drink so long as the sun is above their horizon—but after he is set, eat at pleasure. Towards the end of this Lent they consecrate a day of mourning to the memory of their dead friends—when I have beheld divers of the meaner sort make bitter lamentation. (Beside this common sadness, there are many foolish women who often in the veere, so long as they survive, moisten the graves of their husbands or children with affectionate teares.) But when the night begins to cover the day of general mourning they fire an innumerable compaign of lamps and lights, which they set on the sides and tops of their houses and all other most conspicuous places, and when these are extinguished, take food. The *Ram-Jan* fully ended, the most reverent Mahomedians assemble to some famous mosque where by a Moola some part of the *Alcoran* (which they will not touch without reverence), is publicly read. They keep a feast in November called *Ducceer Bakarah Id*, signifying the *Ram* feast, when they solemnly kill a ram and roast him in memory of that ram which redeemed Ismael (as they say) when Abraham was ready to make him a sacrifice. Many other feasts they have in memory of Mahomet and their Piores.

They have the bookes of Moses, whom they call *Moosa Carim Alla*—Moses the righteous of God. *Ibrahim Calim-Alla*—Abraham the faithful of God.² So Ismael the true sacrifice of God, *Dahood Dāūd*—David the prophet of God, *Selimon Sulaimān*, Salomon the wise of God—all expressed, as the former in short Arabian words. To whose particular remembrances they daily sing ditties. And more—

¹ Terry was misled by the fact that both in 1617 and in 1618 the beginning of Ramazan fell within the month of August. The 1650 *al-muntakhab* states—which begins the first new moon which happens in September—but this is also wrong. As the Mohammedan year is lunar, and given to such an extent moves round the calendar of the solar year.

² These epithets should be *Musa Karimullah*, Moses the man who conversed with God. *Ibrahim Khaleelullah*, Abraham the friend of

over there is not a man amongst them (but those of the ruler sort) that at any time mentions the name of our blessed Saviour, called there *Harari Kesa* the Lord Christ with at reverence and respect saying that He was a good man and a just lived without sinne did greater miracles then ever any before or since Him. Nay farther they call Him *Ruhom- Alla Rahullāh*] the breath of God but now He should be the Sonne of God cannot conceive and therefore will not beleeve. Notwithstanding this the Mahometans in generall thinke us Christians so uncleane they will not eate with us, nor yet of any thing is dressed in our vessels.

Among the Mahometans are many called Dervises, which relinquish the world and spend their dayes in solitude expecting a recompence in a better life whose sharpe and strict penances they voluntarily undertake furre exceeds all those the Romaists boast of. For instance, there are some that live all ne upon the tops of hills remote from company, there passing their time in contemplation, and will rather famish then move from these retyred cells; wherefore the people that owe nearest to them out of levity shon relieve them. Some againe impose long times of fasting upon themselves, til nature be almost quite decayed. There are many other among them they call religious men, who weare nothing about them but to hide their shame, and these, like the Mendicant Friars, begge for all they eate. Usually they live in the suburbs of great cities or townes, and are like the man our blessed saviour mentions, about the citie of the Gadarens which had devils and ware no clothes neither abode in any house but in the tombes. They make little fires in the day sleeping at night in the warme ashes, with which they besmeare their bodies. These ashmen suffer not the razor at any tyme to come upon their heads, and some of them let their nayles grow like birds claws, as it is written of Nabuchadnezzar when hee was driven out from the societie of men. And there are a sort among them, called Mendees who like the priests of Baal,

Sir Charles Lysl suggests that this term may represent *Mahdus*, a sect of Shah devotees in Gujarat. In India *Mahdi* is popularly pronounced *Mendee*. During the Muharram such devotees often gnaw their bodies.

often cut their flesh with knives and lancets. Others I have seene who out of devotion put such massie fetters of iron upon their legs as that they can scarce stirre with them, and so, as fast as they are able, goe many miles in pilgrimage barefoote upon the parching ground to visit the sepulchrea of their deluding saints (thus taking more paines to goe to hell (*tantum religio potuit suadere malorum**) then any Christian I know doth to goe to heaven. These marry not. Such as doe Mahomet allowes foure wives. Besides they take Libertie to keepe as many women as they are able. Only the priests content themselves with one. Notwithstanding this polygamie, the hot jealousies of the lustfull Mahometans are such that they will scarce endure the brothers or fathers of their beloved wives or women to have speech with them, except in their presence; and Time, by this restraint, hath made it collous for such women as have the reputation of honestie to be seene at any time by strangers. But if they dishonour their husbands beds or, being unmarried, are found incontinent, professing chastitie, rather then they shall want punishment their owne brothers will bee their executioners, who for such unnaturall acts shall be commended rather then questioned. Yet there is toleration for impudent harlots, who are as little ashamed to entertayne as others openly to frequent their houses. The women of better fashion have eunuchs in stead of men to wait upon them, who in their minoritie are deprived of all that may provoke jealousy.

Their marriages are solemnized in great pompe. Far after the Moone hath joyned their hands, with some other ceremonye and words of benediction, the first watch of the night they begin their jollitie; the man on horse-backe, be he poore or riche, with his friends about him merrily cresset lightly[†] before him, with drums and wind instruments and other pastimes. The woman follows with her friends in coaches covered, and after they have thus passed the most eminent places of the citie or towne they live in, retorne home and there part with a banquet, the men and women separated. They marry for

* The 1655 edition adds p. 263) covered with blew mantles

† A well known quotation from Lucretius. The 1655 edition gives the whole passage.

• Lights •

the most part at the ages of twelve or thirteene, their mothers most commonly making the matches.

Now more particularly of the Gentiles which are there distracted in fourscore and four severall sects, all differing mainly in opinion which had oftentimes filled me with wonder but that I know Satan (the father of division), to be the seducer of them all. Their illiterate priests are called Bramins who, for aught I could ever gather, are so sortish and inconstant in their grounds that they scarce know what they hold. They have little churches which they call Pagodes, built round, in which are images for worship made in monstrous shapes. Some of them dream of Elysium fields, to which their soules must passe over a Styx or Acharon and there take new bodies. Others hold that ere long the world shall have a period; after which they shall live here againe on a new earth. Some Bramins have told me how that they acknowledge one God, whom they describe with a thousand hands, with a thousand feet, and as many eyes, thereby expressing his power. They talke of foure books, which about six thousand yeeres since were sent them from God by their propheet Ram whereof two were sealed up and might not be opened, the other to be read onely by themselves.¹ They say that there are seven orbes, above which is the seate of God: that God knowes not pettie things, or, if He doe, regards them not. They circumscribe God unto place, saying that He may be seene, but as in a mist

¹ The version of the 1655 edition p. 349 is as follows. Those Bramins talk of two books, which not one after the Creation, when the world began to be peopled they say were delivered by Almighty God to Bramon one of which books (they say), containing very high and secret and mysteri-ous things, was sealed up and might not be opened, the other to be read, not onely by the Bramins or priests. And this book thus to be read came after, as they further say into the hands of Bremaw one, by him it was communicated unto Ram and Permissar two other famous prelaties amongst them: which those heathen do likewise exceedingly magnifie, as they do some others whose names I have not. Now that book, which they call the *Shreter*, or the book of their written word, hath been transcribed in many ages ever since by the Bramins, out of which they deliver precepts unto the people. In the Bramon is *Brahma*, the primæval spirit. *Bremaw* the god *Brahma*. *Ram*, *Pitma*. 'Permissar', *Parameshera* (i.e. *Shiva*) and *Shreter* the *Shastree*.

afaire off, not nere. They beleeeve that there are devils, but so bound n chained that they cannot hurt them. They call a man Adam [Hind *adim*], from our first father Adam, whose wife tempted with the forbidden fruit, took it (as they say) and ate it downe. but as her husband swalwed it, the hand of God stopped it in his throat, whence man hath a bunch there which women have not, called by them Adams apple. As anciently among the Jewes, their priesthood is hereditarie for every Bramins sonne is a priest, and marries a Bramins daughter. And so among all the Gentiles the men take the daughters of those to bee their wives which are of their fathers tribe, sect, and occupation, for instance, a merchants sonne marries a merchants daughter. And every mans sonne that lives by his labour marries the daughter of him that is of his owne profession, by which meanes they never advance themselves. These Gentiles take but one wife; of which they are not so fearefull as the Mahometans of their multitude for they suffer them to goe abroad. They are married yong at six or seven yeeres old (their parents making the contracts), and about twelve come together. Their nuptials, as those of the Mahometans, are performed with much pompe and jollitie.

For their habit, it differs little from the Mahometans, but many of the women weare rings upon their toes, and therefore goe barefoote. They have likewise broad rings of brasse (or better metal) according to the qualite of the woman) about the smale of the legges to take off and on, haply such as the Prophet meant by the tinkling ornaments about the fecte, or the ornaments of the legs, which the Jewish women were wont to put on (*Isay 3*). And such as these they have about their armes. The lappes or nether part of their eares are boared when they are yong, which hole, daily stretched and made wider by things kept in it for that purpose, at last becomes so large that it will hold a ring (I dare boldly say) as large as a little sawcer made hollow on the sides for the flesh to rest in. Both men and women wash their bodies every day before they eate; which done they sleepe off their clothes but the covering of modestie that they have left. This outward washing appertaines, as they thinke to their cleansing from sinne, not unlike

the Pharisees who would not eat with unwashed hands (Mar 7). Hence they ascribe a certain divinity to rivers, but above all to Ganges: daily flocking thither in troops, and there throw in pieces of gold or silver according to their devotion and ability, after which they wash their bodies.¹ Both men and women paint on their fore-heads or other parts of their faces red or yellow spots.

Now farther for their grosse opinions, they believe not the resurrection of flesh; and therefore burne the bodies of their dead neere some river (if they may wail convenient), wherein they sowe the ashes. Their widowers marrie not, but, after the losse of their husbands, cut their haire and spend all their life following as neglected creatures, women, to bee free from shame: many yong women are ambitious to die with honor (as they esteeme it), when their fiery love brings them to the flames (as they thinke) of martyrdom most willingly; following their dead husbands unto the fire, and there embracing are burnt with them, but this they doe voluntary, not compelled. The parents and friends of those women will most joyfully accompanie them, and when the wood is fitted for this hellish sacrifice and begins to burne, all the people assembled shute and make a noyse, that the screeches of this tortured creature may not bee heard. Not much unlike the custome of the Ammonites, who, when they made their children passe through the fire to Moloch, caused certaine tabrets or drums to sound, that their cry might not be heard: whence the place was called *Tophet* a tabret (2 Kings, 23. 10). There is one sect among the Gentiles which neither burne nor interre their dead. They are called *Purveys*, who inclose pieces of ground with high stone walls, remote from houses or roade wayes, and therein lay their earkasses wrapped in sheetes; thus having no other tombes but the gorges of ravenous fowles.

The Gentiles for the most part are very industrious. They till the ground or else spend their time otherwise diligently

And the nearest they can come to the word of a hot river, the more virtuous they be as is to be water (16. 5. 16. 17. p. 548)

In the 16. ed. 16. 10. has been: 1. of the Farmers is much enlarged from the Rev. Henry Land's *Display of The Foreign Sects in the East India*, 1636

in their vocations. There are amongst them most curious artificers, who are the best apes for imitation in the world for they will make any new thing by patterne. The Mahomettans are generally idle, who are all for to morrow (as word is common in their mouths). They live upon the labours of the Gentiles. Some of which poore seduced nittels will eate of nothing that hath life and these live upon herbs and milke and butter and cheese and sweet meates, of which they make divers kinds, whereof the most wholesome is Greene ginger as well preserved there as in any part of the world. Others will eate fish and no living thing else. The Rashibootes eate swines flesh most hateful to the Mahomettans. Some will eate of one kinde of flesh some of another but all the Gentiles obtaine from beeste out of the excessive esteeme they have of kine and therefore give the King yearly beside his other exactions great summes of money as a ransom for those creatures whose among other good provision we meete there but with little beeste. Those most tender hearted idolaters are called Barians who hold Pithagorus his *peripateticus* as it prime author of their fath. They thinke that the soules of the best men and women when their bodies lye there out of prison take their repose in kine which in their opinion are the best of all creatures. So the soules of the wicked goe into other beasts as the soules of guttons and drunkards into swine. The soules of the voluptuous and incontinent into monkeys and apes. the soules of the furious cruel, and revenged into Lyons, tigers, and wolves. the soules of the envious into serpents and so into other creatures according to their qualitye and disposition successively from one to another of the same kinde and infirmity. By consequence leaving the major part of the world so that there is not a kyle the but if they may be credited carries about some soules (namely they thinke of light women) and will not be perswaded out of these grosse opinions so concerning are their sottish errors and therefore will not deprive the most offensive creatures of their life (not snakes that will kill them).

The 20th edition adds that probably they further believe that the souls of fromans peevish and deadly are taken by women going to warre.

saying it is their nature to doe harme how that they have reason to shunne but beche to destroy them.

For their workes of charitie many rich men build barns or make welster tanks neere to high wayes that are much traveled where passengers may drinke or take a low pensions unto poore men that they may sit by the high way sides and offer water unto those that passe.

Their day of rest is Thursday as the Mahometans Friday. Many festivals they have which they keepe sollemne and pilgrimages whereof the most famous are such first in the briefe descriptions of Negracut and Lyba where people out of devotion cut off part of their forequies which of Master Corvat who strictly observed it may be beleaved, in a few daies became whole againe. It were easie to enlarge but I will not cast away inke and paper in a farther description of their stoll idolatries. The summe is that both Maomettans and Gentiles ground their opinions upon tradition not reason and are content to persist with their fore fathers out of a preposterous zeale and living perverseness never ruminating in that they maintain like to unclean beasts which chew not the cud.

Now both these Mahomettans and Gentiles are under the subjection of the Great Mogoll whose name signifieth a compressed man,² and therefore he is called the Great Mogoll, as much as to say *the Chief of the Circumcision*. He is usually descended by the father from that famous conqueror of the East called in our stories Tamberlaine in theirs Temar [Tamar] who towards his end by an unhappy fall from his horse which made him halt to his grave was called Temar lang or Temar the Lame. The present King is the ninth in a direct line from that his great ancestor. The Emperour styles himselfe *the King of Justice the Light of the Land of Mahomet the Conquerour of the World*. Himselfe moderates all matters

¹ The same statement is made by Sarras & Leveillé, *ibid.* vol. vi, p. 184, by Le Comte, *ibid.* p. 312 and by Rouleau, *ibid.* vol. i, p. 21), but there is no ground for

² The original of the first epithet can only be guessed at. It may be a perversion of *shufda pasha* the sayid of taxation, which is borne as one of the Empereur's titles on his tomb. The text of Sarras

of consequence which happen neere his court for the most part judging *secundum allegata et probata*. Tryals are quicke, and so are executions hangings, beheading, impaling, killing with dagges, by elephants, serpents, and ower like, according to the nature of the fact. The execution is commonly done in the market place. The governours in cities and provinces proceed in like forme of justice. I could never heare of any written amongst them, the King and his substitutes will is law. His vicegerents continue not long in a place, but to prevent popularitie, receive usually a renouve yearly. They receive his letters with great respect. They looke for presents from all which have occasion to use them, and if they be not often visited will aske for them, you send them backe for better exchange. The Cudee [Kazi] will imprison debtors and sinners, bound with hand and seale, and men of power for payment will sell their persons, wives, and children, which the custome of the land will warrant.

The King shewes himselfe thrice a day. first, at sun rising at a gay window toward the east many being there assembled to give him the salam, and crying *Padshah salamat* [*Padshah salamat*], that is *Love, O King*. At noone he sees his elephants fight or other pastimes. A little before sun-set he shewes himselfe at a window to the west, and the sun being set returneth in with organs and wind instruments, the peoples exclamations adding to the consort. At any of these three times any suitor holding up his petition to be seene shall be heard. Betwixt seven and nine he sits privately attended with his nobles.

No subject in this empire hath land of inheritance, nor have they title but the *Kungs* will, which makes some of the grandes to live at the height of their nesnes. merchants also to conserve their riches, lest they should be made spongers. So it mine means the King allowes the children of these great ones, which they exceed not except they marry

the Muham. and Ja dingie, but in the *Shahajahan* is a personal name and has no relation to the preceding word as Terry supposed.

to a place very like unto one of our adobees, made in his houses or pay house for an *appearance* being *exposed* to the east about 6, 8, 10 or eight foot high from the ground' (1665 edition, p. 389).

succeed in their fathers' favours. His pensions are reckoned by horse, of which hee payeth a million in his empire, for every horse allowing five and twenty pounds yearly,² raised from lands thereunto designed. There are some twentie in his court which have pay of five thousand horse: others of four thousand or three thousand: and so downward. Hee which hath pay of five thousand is bound to have two thousand³ at command, and so in like proportion others. This absolute dependance makes them dissolute parasites. When he giveth advancement he addeth a new name, as Pharao did to Joseph, and those pithily significant, as *Mahabet Khan* the *Beloved Lord*, *Chan Jahann*, the *Lord of my Heart*⁴; *Chan Allau*,⁵ the *Lord of the World*, etc. The chief officers of state are his Treasurer, the Master of his Eunuchs (who is Steward and Comptroller of his House), his Secretary, the Master of his Elephants, the Tent-master, and keeper of his Wardrobe. These [There?] are subordinate titles of honour, as *Chan*, *Mirza*, *Embra* (see p. 147, or Captain, *Haddee* (see p. 99), a souldier or horseman.⁶ Gorgeous apparell is prohibited by the sunnes heat, the King himselfe being commonly vested with a garment, as before described, of pure white calico lawne. Blue may not be worne in his presence (the colour of mourners) nor the name of death sounded in his eares, but such usually is mollified by tearmes to this purpose: *Such an one hath made himselfe a sacrifice at Your Majesties feet*. That heat of the countrey makes little sale for English cloth, most used there for coverings of elephants, horses, coaches. Yet may this king be thought to exceed any other

In the 1655 edition Terry reduces this sum to £18.

² 'One thousand or more' (1655 edition).

³ *Mahabet Khan* means 'the lord who inspires awe' - *wahid Khan*. Jahann is 'the lord of the world' - but Charles I. points out that Terry, whose smattering of Persian often misleads him, has confused the one term with another affectionately and the other with him too warmly.

Corrected in the 1655 edition to: *Chan Allau* (for whom see p. 101).

The later edition amplifies that paragraph to: 'All the Kings children are called *Sultans* or princes: his daughters *Sultanas* or princesses. The next title is *Nabi* - equivalent to a duke - the next *Chan*, a double lord, or earl - the next *Chan* a son. So *Mirza* signifies a knight that hath been a general or commander in the wars. *Umbr*, a captain. *Haddee*, a cavalier or souldier on horse-back.

in glorious thrones and rich Jewels. Her hath a throne in his palace at Agra, ascended by degrees (steps) on the top whereof are foure Lions made of masse silver gilded, set with precious stones, supporting a canopy of masse gold.¹ By the way I may mention a tame lion living in his court while I was there going up and downe without hurt like a dogge. His Jewels where-with hee is richly adorned about his head necke wrists and ribs of his sword and dagger are invaluable. He is on his birthday the first of September (now sixtie times renewed) yearly weighed and account kept thereof by his physicians thereby glessing at his bodily estate.²

Part of two letters to His Majestie is here translated out of Persian sent by Sir Thomas Roe but written one a yeare before the other.³

* When Your Majestie shall open this letter let your royall heart be as fresh as a sweet garden, let all people make reverence at your gate let your throne be advanced higher amongst the greatnesse of the kings of the Prophet Jesus. Let Your Majestie be the greatest of all monarches, who may derive their counsell and wisdom from your breast as from a fountayne that the law of the majestie of Jesus may revive and flourish under your protection. The letters of love and friendship which you sent me and the presents (tokens of your good affection toward mee) I have received by the hands of your embassadour Sir Thomas Roe who well deserveth to be your trusted servant, delivered to me in an acceptable and happie houre. Upon which mine eyes were so fixed that I could not easily remove them to any other object and have accepted them with great joy etc.

The last letter hath this beginning

* How gracious is Your Majestie whose greatnesse God preserve. As upon a rose in a garden so are mine eyes fixed upon you. God maintayne your estate that your monarchie may prosper and be augmented, and that you may obtayne

In the 1655 edition Terry says that he had this information from English merchants who had been at Agra. He adds that the lions stood on pedestals of curiously carved marble.

See *ibid.* pp. 214, 215 & p. 2.

¹ Both letters are given at full length in *The Embassy* (pp. 557, 559).

all your desires, worthy the greatness of your renown. And as your heart is noble and upright, so let God give you a glorious reign, because you strongly defend the majesty of Jesus, which God yet made more flourishing, because it was confirmed by miracles, etc.

That which followeth in both letters is to testify his care and love toward the English. These letters being written, the copies were sent to the Lord Ambassadors, and the originals rolled up and covered with cloth of gold and sealed up at both ends, which is the better fashion of those parts.

We traveled two yeares with the Great Mogul in progresse, in the temperate moneths twixt October and April, there being no lesse then two hundred thousand men, women, and children in this basket or cage (I amereof confident) besides elephants, horses, and other beasts that eat corne. At which notwithstanding we never felt want of any provision, no, not in our nineteene dayes travell from Mardoa to Amulavar throug a wilderness, the road being cut for us in the mayne woods. The tents were of divers colours, and represented a spacious and spacious cite. The kings tents red, reared on poles very high, and placed in the midst of the campe, covering a large compasse, inclosed with canals (*kand* in screen, made of red calicoe, stiffened with canes at every breadth) standing upright about nine foot high, guarded round every night with soldiers. He removed ten or twelve miles a day, more or lesse, according to the conveniency of water. His wives and women of all sorts, which are our thousand at least, provided for in his tents, are caried in palatkes or upon elephants, or else in cradles hanging in the sides of dy-medaries, covered close and attended by eunuches. In wiving he respects fancy more then honour, not seeking affinity with neighbour princes, but to please his eye at home. Noore Mahal, the name of his best beloved, signifieth *the light of the court*. Since hath much advanced her friends, before meane, and in manner commands the commander of that empire by engrossing his affections. The king and his great men must paye the women till little adoe, them after fourete yeares of their age.

This multitude of women notwithstanding the Mogoll hath but six children five sonnes and a daughter. All his sonnes are called Sultans or Princes: the eldest Sultan Cursero the second Sultan Parveis, Sultan Curson the third, Sultan Shahar th fourth. The last is Sultan Taht which word in the Persian signifieth a *throne* so named by the king who the first heere of his quiet possessing the throne had newes of his birth about nineteene yeares since. The first sonne by any of his married wives, by preumptive of birth inferiours, the elder brother beinge called the *great Brother*. Although the younger be not put to death, as with the Turkes, yet it is observed that they survive not long their father employed commonly in some dangerous expedition. Ahabar-sah had threatened to disherit the present king, for abuse of Anar-kace (that is *Pomegranate Kernel*), his most beloved wife [see p. 166], but on his death-bed repented it. Th's Ahabars death is thus reported. He was wont upon displeasure to give as to his grundes to purge their soyles from their bodies, which intendinge against one, and havinge another cordiall pill for himselfe, whiles hee entertayned the other with faire flatteries, by a happy-unhappy mistake hee tooke the poyson himselfe which with a mortall fluxe of blood in few dayes killed him. *Neque enim lex justior ulla est quam veris artifices arte perire* [see p. 166].

This Kings disposition seemes composed of extremes very

Tahm air (see note on p. 130) was born in 1665.

* * * By their great brother. 1655 edition. This phrase stands for *buddha bāds*, * old brother.

This story of Akbar's death, though not accepted by modern historians, has evidently a wide currency in India at this time. It is to be found also in the chronicle appended to De La Lue's *l'empereur Mogol*, *Jeoplie*, and in Peter Bl.ady's journal under date of 1632, *vol. ii*, p. 163. In both of these the intended victim is identified as Mirza Ghuza son of Mirza Jami Beg, ruler of Sind, though the tradition among the Rājās was that he was hā, a Jām Singh of Amber (see *Tales of Rajasthan*, Herbert Dunn Yates *Journal*, p. 123) was a somewhat different version and yet another is given by Munro, *vol. i*, p. 70).

* In the 1655 edition Perry translates the couplet thus:

* When come to kill in set deadly engines frame,

It is not that they themselves be caught in the same

It is from Ovid's *Art of Love*, 4. 455.

cruell and otherwhys very milde: often overe one with wher
but severely punishing that fault in others. His subjects know
not to disobey. Nether forgetting her private bonds twost
father and sonne to fulfill that pollicie. He daily relieves
many poore and wth in price helpe to carry sometimes his
mother in a palanke on his shoulders. He speakes respectiue
of our Saviour, but is offended at His cross and povertie
thanking Him incredible to such exquisite though loud
that His humilie was to subdue the worlds pride.

All religions are tolerated and their priests in good esteeme.
My selfe after received from the Mogoll himselfe the appella-
tion of father¹ with their many gracious words with place
amongst his best nobles. The Jesuites have not only admitt-
tance into his presence but encouragements from him by many
gifts with libertie of converting to them and to the subject
to be without losse of favour converted. He made trvall of
one convert with many threats to deterre him from his new
profession and finding him undoubtedly resolute he assayed
by flatteries and promises to regaine him but therein also
failing hee bade him continue and with a reward discharged
him having told him that if he could have frayed the
frightened or brought him from his religion he would have
made him an example for all waverers. The chief Jesuite
was Franciscoas Corsi a Florentine by birth living at the
Mogolls court agent for the Portugals. I would I were able
to confirme the reports of their conversions. The truth is
they have spilt the water of baptisme upon some faces working
on the necessities of poore men who for want of incomes
wher they give them are content to weare crocedixes but for
want of instruction are only in name Christians. I observed
that of the poore there five have beggen in the name of Marie
for one in the name of Christ [cf. p. 276]. I also desired to
put my hand to this holy worke but found it not all both

¹ *Padre* a term which is common to the Jesu missionaries still
in use in India for a baptizer or minister of any Christian denomina-
tion.

A gentleman of quality and a servant of the great Mogoll (1655
edition). The one was derived from Curacao (p. 280, *supra*).

For an account of *Padre* see *The Embassy* I, 324.

by Mahumetare abertie for women and the debauched lives of some Christian and christian men amongst them *per quorum latere patitur Evangelium.* Hee which hat *the Key of David,* open their eyes, and in his good time send labourers into this vineyard. Amen.

* * By whom the Gospell of Jesus Christ is scandalized and exceedingly sullied is the translation given in the 1656 edition.

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